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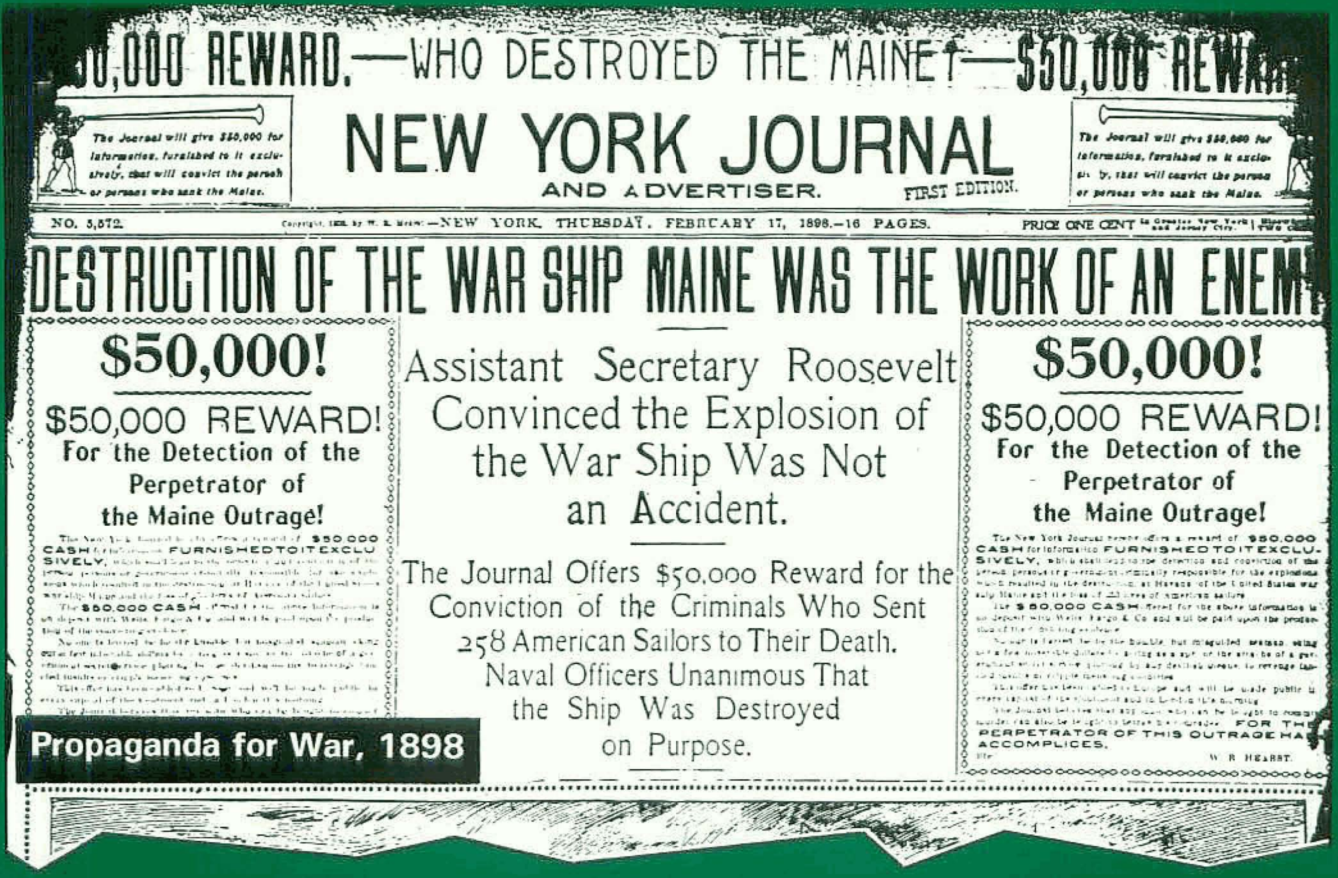

0,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE?—$50,000 REWA

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER.
FIRST EDITION.

The Journal will give $50,000 for information, furnished to it exclusively, that will convict the person or persons who sank the Maine.

NO. 5,572. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1898.—16 PAGES. PRICE ONE CENT

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEM

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For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.

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W. R. HEARST.

Propaganda for War, 1898

America Becomes an Imperial Power, 1898
John Ries and Mark Weber

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Challenge
Robert Faurisson

Zionism and the Third Reich
Mark Weber

Hess' 1934 Appeal for Peace

Croatia's President: Holocaust Revisionist

Organization of American Historians: A Double Standard

— Reviews —

Third Reich Almanac

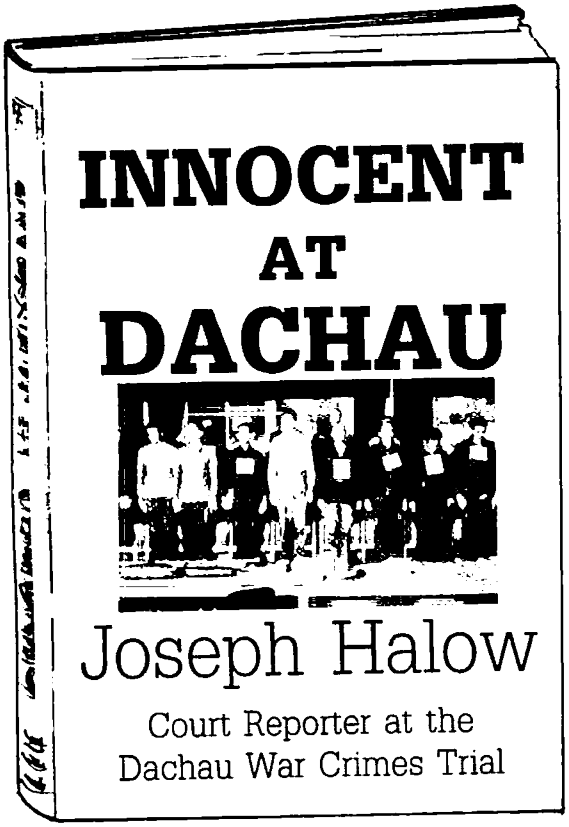
Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials
Andrew Gray

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.



Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, ***Innocent at Dachau*** is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity.* He lives near Washington, D.C.

TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference. **INSET:** Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

By Joseph Halow

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Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on IBM-compatible computer diskette.

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From the Editor

When the presidents of the United States, Israel and several other countries gathered in Washington, DC, on April 22 to formally dedicate the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, a small army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the story to the entire world. In keeping with the spirit of the occasion, one politician after another spouted the most piously self-righteous rhetoric. President Clinton didn't just deliver a speech, it was said, he was busy "bearing witness."

As a result of generous support from several dozen of our readers, we were also in Washington, DC, that same week to express forthright and reasoned opposition to this $160 million monument to misguided priorities and illicit power. On the evening of April 21 we held a special IHR "mini-conference" at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC. About 200 friends and supporters of the IHR — some traveling great distances — gathered for the enthusiastic meeting, at which Robert Faurisson, David Irving, Robert Countess, and I spoke. (Videotapes of the presentations will be available for sale soon. We'll keep you posted.)

Unfortunately, our news conference at the National Press Club on the morning of April 22 was a disappointment. As a result of what amounts to a media blackout, only a few journalists contacted us. Still, as a result of this effort, I gave a few radio and newspaper interviews, and Dr. Countess appeared on a New York City television news program.

This media outreach, and our successful meeting, was made possible as a result of the more than $4,000 raised through our special appeal. We warmly appreciate such support, especially on such short notice. A heartfelt "thank you" to everyone who contributed to this effort.

At the same time the US Holocaust Memorial Museum was being dedicated on the morning of April 22, about two hundred persons gathered nearby in spite of the wind, rain and cold to loudly express their opposition. Although turnout was not large, this very diverse group more faithfully reflected the authentic sentiment of concerned citizens on this issue than do "our" newspapers and political and intellectual leaders.

Millions of Americans — including many well-educated people — understand very well just how grotesque and inappropriate this Holocaust campaign really is. My recent visit to Washington reconfirmed this.

For example, I met for about an hour there with a veteran *New York Times* journalist who expressed to me, in private, his disgust with the new Holocaust Museum. He called it an "institution of guilt-mongering," and emphasized that he would never take his children to the place. He added that "everyone" he knows — including colleagues on the staff of America's most influential paper — privately hold similar views. When I suggested that he express his view on this in some public way, he explained that he has no interest in jeopardizing his career. "I gave up on causes long ago," he said.

A former high-ranking American diplomat (now-retired) with whom I also met in Washington expressed quite similar views about the Holocaust campaign and the new Museum.

History shows that genuine popular sentiment can't be suppressed forever. That's why, in spite of the extravagant new Holocaust Museum, the guardians of the legend are not at all happy. As a flurry of recent newspaper and magazine articles confirms, they are alarmed, above all, at the dramatic and seemingly unstoppable growth in recent years of Holocaust Revisionism — in spite of legal sanctions, physical attacks and a vicious anti-revisionist propaganda campaign.

A lengthy but grossly unfair *New York Times* article, April 30, reported, for example, on the "disturbing phenomenon that has gained momentum in recent years in both America and Europe . . . the growing visibility of 'revisionist historians'." Similarly, *Time* magazine (April 26) noted that "the claim that the Holocaust never occurred has been spreading in America," and a wildly inaccurate Associated Press article denouncing revisionism appeared in many newspapers across the country. (For example: "Holocaust Denial Seen Gaining Ground," *Los Angeles Times*, May 8.)

Newspapers across the country also recently reported with something like despair that, in spite of the vast sums devoted to Holocaust "education," millions of Americans have doubts about the Holocaust story. A public opinion survey released just three days before the Holocaust Museum dedication ceremony shows that one out of three Americans aren't sure about the official Holocaust extermination story. Many commentators were quick to pin at least part of the blame for this on the diabolical work of Holocaust Revisionists.

Four new anti-revisionist books further testify to the fearful trend:

— *Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust "Revisionism,"* an 88-page book compiled and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

— *Holocaust Denial*, a 195-page book by the American Jewish Committee.

— *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, a 200-page book published by Columbia University Press by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a leading French adversary of Robert Faurisson.

— *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, a 300-page book by Deborah Lipstadt.

We must be doing something right. Not only does the IHR figure prominently in each of these books, but one of them, *Holocaust Denial*, explicitly reports that "the IHR is the spine of the international Holocaust denial movement, and, according to Leonard Zeskind, a research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the IHR's influence now is only a fraction of what it will be."

Until recently, the standard operating procedure in dealing with revisionism was either to ignore the phenomenon, or to stridently dismiss revisionists as crackpots, neo-Nazis, hate-mongers, "flat earth types" and so forth. As the authors of these polemical and error-packed new books now recognize, though, that approach just won't work any more.

While continuing to insist that revisionists must never be given an opportunity to express their views, and that, above all, one must *never* agree to anything like a reasoned exchange of views with revisionists (supposedly because we are so insidiously clever), these authors feel compelled to respond with what superficially appear to be substantive responses to at least some revisionist arguments.

This is already a big step forward, and accordingly we will take a much closer look at these four books in future *Journal* issues.

Much of the credit for our steady progress is due to the quiet work of activists across the United States. A good example, as we briefly report later in this issue, is Jack Riner, a long-time IHR supporter who recently passed out 2,400 IHR leaflets to students on two university campuses.

Other good examples of such activism are the two IHR supporters who (as we also note) arranged for publication of a full-page IHR advertisement in local papers.

We applaud and strongly encourage such grass-roots efforts. Experience has shown that, even when they might not seem to have any noticeable effect, the real long-term impact of such efforts is very difficult to measure. Don't forget the example of Bradley Smith — now one of the most active of activists — who was introduced to all this quite a few years ago when someone handed him a revisionist leaflet. Reading that short item jolted Bradley and transformed his life.

With your continued support, including the much-appreciated support of friends like Jack Riner, we will carry on our work as the world's foremost center of historical myth-busting.

Erratum:
In the May-June 1993 issue, pages 26-27, the short paragraph that follows Table 1 ("Available figures . . .") should instead come before Table 1.

THE FORCED WAR
When Peaceful Revision Failed
By David L. Hoggan

The Forced War is the pathbreaking Revisionist study of the origins of the Second World War in Europe. Author David L. Hoggan, a Harvard-trained historian, has written not merely a masterful account of the intricate maneuverings of the European powers on the eve of the "unnecessary war," but has defied a central taboo of the postwar intellectual climate in exonerating – on the basis of a close and skillful study of the documents – Germany of its alleged guilt in unleashing an aggressive war.

This is the shocking story of who really plunged humanity into World War II, how they did it, and why. The product of years of careful study of the secret documents of the men who made the war, and the men who tried to stop it, *The Forced War* reads like a diplomatic thriller, and deals a deathblow to such long-cherished legends as British "appeasement," the "shame" of Munich, the "rape" of Czechoslovakia, and German sole guilt in the outbreak of World War II. After reading *The Forced War*, your view of how world leaders talk peace, of how they plan war, and of how the most cataclysmic struggle of this century began, will never be the same.

THE FORCED WAR
Hardcover, 716 pp.,
Notes, Index, Photos
$35 + $3.50 shipping from IHR

The Great Debate Over American Overseas Expansion

The Fateful Year 1898: The United States Becomes an Imperial Power

JOHN RIES AND MARK WEBER

Most Americans have come to accept as entirely normal the readiness of their government to send troops to faraway lands. With few exceptions, even those who might oppose this or that specific action readily agree that such expeditions are sometimes appropriate to protect "national interests," stop wanton killing or otherwise "restore order."

In recent decades, such military adventures have included President Johnson's Vietnam fiasco, President Reagan's ill-fated dispatch of Marines to Lebanon, President Bush's massive Gulf War against Iraq, and the Somalia intervention of presidents Bush and Clinton. More recently, President Clinton has been talking of sending US warplanes and troops to Bosnia and Macedonia.

It wasn't so long ago when most Americans firmly rejected global adventurism. Until the 1890s, America followed its traditional foreign policy of non-interventionism. The year 1898 was a landmark in the transition of the United States from a republic to an imperial power.

Today, as Americans debate the merits of new military intervention in foreign lands, many of the arguments for and against such actions echo those made nearly a century ago, but with some interesting differences. Economic self-interest is no longer so readily acknowledged as a motive, and instead of Christianity or Western Civilization, politicians now like to talk of spreading the blessings of Democracy. What is still familiar, though, is the insistence that current American values and standards are, or should be, the model for the rest of the world.

Implicit in the following essay is a question: Would America, and the world, be better or worse off today if the United States had decided against overseas expansion and imperialism in the late 1890s?

John Ries is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame (B.A., history, 1971), and the University of Tulsa (M.A., history, 1976). He has previously contributed four reviews and one essay to the *Journal*. He teaches history in southern California.

Many students of history trace the beginning of America's readiness for overseas military intervention to one of two presidential decisions:

— President Wilson's declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, which brought on the first direct involvement of US troops in a European conflict, or

— President Franklin Roosevelt's campaign during the 1937-1941 period to actively mobilize the United States against European "fascism" and Japanese "militarism."

To be sure, each decision was a major break with the traditional American policy of non-intervention — a policy laid down by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and the other founding leaders. There is likewise no question but that the policies of Wilson and Roosevelt set the stage for America's role today as the world's foremost superpower and global "policeman." In fact, though, this policy of interventionism was already well established by the time the US entered the First World War. The great transition in American foreign policy took place during the final decade of the 19th century.

The 1890s

As the 1890s dawned, Americans could look back on the recent past with some gratitude. Internally the United States had been at peace since the end of the Civil War in 1865, and had not been involved in a foreign war since 1848. Reflecting its generally inward-looking mood, the country maintained only a small military force, and some questioned the need for even its minimal foreign ties. In 1889 the *New York Sun* told readers:[1]

> . . . The diplomatic service has outgrown its usefulness. . . . It is a costly humbug and sham. It is a nurse of snobs. It spoils a few Americans every year, and does no good to anybody. Instead of making ambassadors, Congress should wipe out the whole service.

But other forces were at work that would change all this. After several decades of dramatic economic expansion, the United States had, by the early

1890s, become the world's leading agricultural and industrial nation. Along with its new status as an economic giant, the United States now found itself able to compete militarily in the international arena with the other great powers. It now had the economic muscle to permit it to engage successfully in foreign expansion or imperialism, the imposition of control over, and sometimes outright annexation of, overseas territory.

Many farmers and manufacturers looked ever more eagerly to foreign markets to absorb their growing surpluses, while a small but growing number of Americans wondered why they should not follow the example of rival European powers in the imperialist scramble for colonies.

"The subjugation of a continent," remarked the *Overland Monthly* in 1898, "was sufficient to keep the American people busy at home for a century. . . . But now that the continent is subdued, we are looking for fresh worlds to conquer."[2]

In this setting came the greatest challenge so far to the principles that had guided the conduct of American foreign policy since the earliest days.

Manufactured War Hysteria

The Spanish-American War of 1898 — through which the United States suddenly became an overseas empire — did not begin spontaneously. As has happened on other critical occasions in American history, the media played an important and probably crucial role in rousing public sentiment for war.

Above all, two fiercely competing mass-circulation New York City daily papers — William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *World* — had already been doing everything possible to inflame adventurist and bellicose passions with embellished stories of Spanish "barbarism" in Cuba. By 1898, each of the two "yellow press" rivals was selling more than 800,000 newspapers a day, and equally irresponsible imitators had sprung up across the country.

In response to mounting unrest in Cuba, in early 1898 President McKinley sent the US warship *Maine* to Havana harbor. While the US government announced that the *Maine*'s visit was a "friendly act of courtesy," everyone knew that this was a lie. Its real mission was to protect American life and property if and when Cuban revolutionaries took control of Havana. On the evening of February 15, a mysterious explosion suddenly blew up the *Maine* while it was resting at anchor in the harbor, killing 260 navy servicemen.

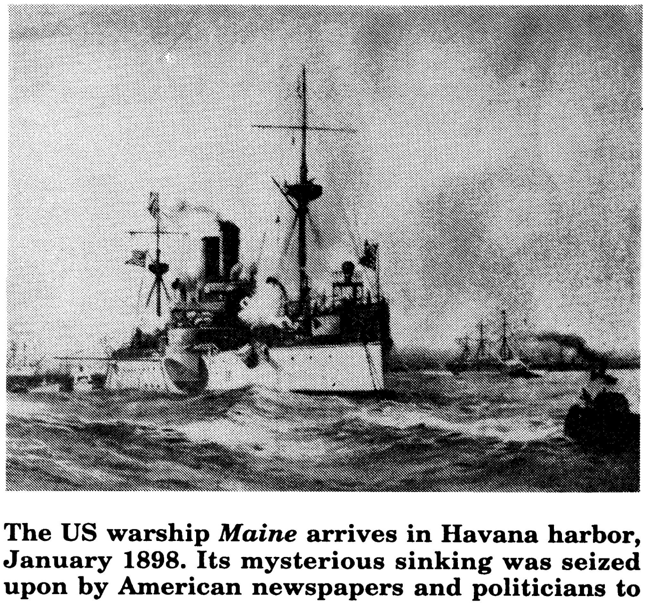
Without a shred of real evidence, the "yellow press" and prominent individuals immediately blamed Spanish authorities for the disaster. Even though Spain had no rational motive for provoking the United States, and no evidence of Spanish guilt has ever come to light, the incident was instantly seized upon to inflame passions for war. Headlines in the New York *Journal* (February 17) told readers that "Destruction of the War Ship Maine Was The Work of an Enemy," that "Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident," and that "Naval officers think the Maine was destroyed by a Spanish mine." (Hearst's *Journal* would later shamelessly take credit for the Spanish-American war itself.)[3]

Pulitzer's *World* (April 1, 1898) likewise branded the explosion "an act of war," and declared that "the destruction of the *Maine* by foul play should be the occasion of ordering our fleet to Havana. . . If Spain will not punish her miscreants, we must punish Spain." Ten days later the paper cried: "Stop the nonsense! Stop the trifling, let us have peace even at the muzzle of our guns."

Even supposedly responsible voices joined in the national frenzy. One Presbyterian journal piously declared: "And if it be the will of Almighty God, that by war the last trace of this [Spanish] inhumanity of man to man shall be swept away from this Western hemisphere, let it come!"[4]

"Remember the *Maine*! To Hell with Spain!" quickly became the rallying-cry across the United States.

Media treatment of the *Maine* incident foreshadowed similar cases at other pivotal times in US history, including the highly misleading and inflammatory press coverage of the German submarine sinking in May 1915 of the liner *Lusitania*, the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin attack (which was misrepresented by President Johnson to secure blank check Congressional authorization for unlimited war in Southeast Asia), and the fake atrocity stories that helped incite public support for the Gulf War against Iraq.[5]

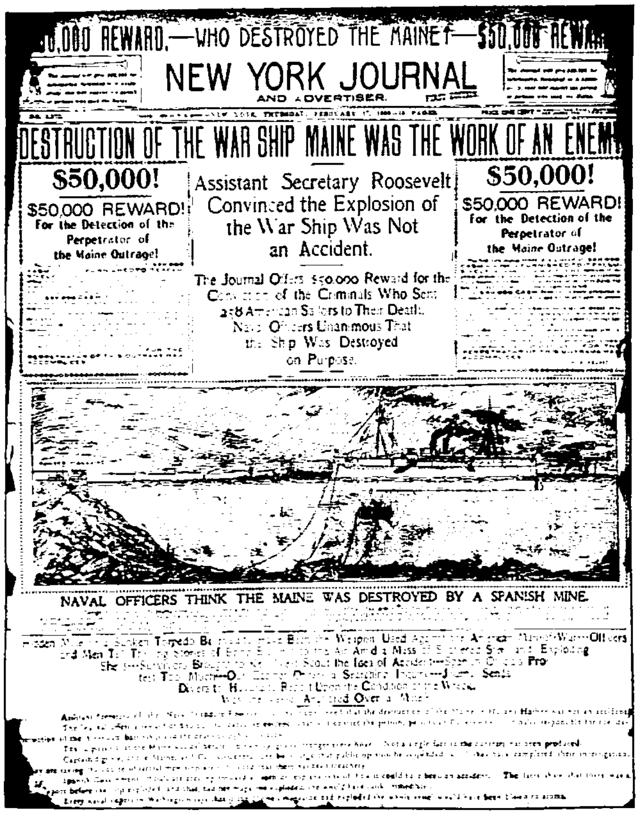


The US warship *Maine* arrives in Havana harbor, January 1898. Its mysterious sinking was seized upon by American newspapers and politicians to inflame popular passion for war against Spain.

Predictably, the hysteria that swept the country was reflected in Congress, where lawmakers shouted at each other and ran up and down aisles like madmen. One Representative said that every Congressman "had two or three newspapers in his district — most of them printed in red ink . . . and shouting for blood."

Senator Allen accused Spain of "wholesale murder" in the *Maine* explosion, while in the lobbies war-hungry congressmen sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and other bellicose songs. Representative McDowell demanded that "these murderous, treacherous, bull-fighting [Spanish] hyenas should be made to get off the Western Hemisphere . . ."[6]

In this crazed atmosphere, anyone who raised a voice in protest risked being labeled unpatriotic. Charles Eliot Norton, Harvard's esteemed Professor of Fine Arts, was denounced by the press as a traitor for his outspoken opposition to the war, and a Boston politician proposed that he be lynched.[7]



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NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH MINE.

No newspaper did more to incite poplar mania for war against Spain than William R. Hearst's *New York Journal.* Without a shred of real evidence, this issue of February 17, 1898, blames Spanish authorities for the sinking of the US warship *Maine.*

Distressed by mounting criticism that he was "soft," President McKinley on April 11, 1898, asked Congress — "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests" — for authorization to expel Spanish forces from Cuba. Congress promptly approved, and on April 25, it passed another resolution declaring war to exist in fact, and directing the President to employ land and naval forces to wage it. The Spanish-American War was underway.

In the Far East, a US fleet under Admiral George Dewey steamed into Manila harbor in the Philippines on May 1, where it quickly destroyed the Spanish fleet there. In Cuba, some 17,000 American volunteer troops — the most famous being Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" — soon routed the weak Spanish forces there. In August, after barely four months, Spain asked for peace, and Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines came under American control. "It has been a splendid little war," wrote US ambassador John Hay from London in a letter to his friend, Theodore Roosevelt.[8]

Hawaii Annexed

Almost incidentally, the United States in 1898 also took control of Hawaii, which had actually been an earlier target of American expansionism. Although the Hawaiian Islands had been coveted for some years by several European powers and by Japan, by 1890 a small group of prosperous Americans had succeeded in taking economic control there, including most of the country's real estate.

Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii. In response to her "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" policy, American sugar planters, together with US government officials, overthrew her government in 1893. Five years later, the United States formally annexed the country.

In January 1893, American sugar growers, in collusion with the US ambassador there, staged a revolt against the ruling government of Queen Liliuokalani, who was, incidentally, also a gifted poet and musical composer. (Her most familiar song is "Aloha Oe.") Alarmed by her talk of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," the businessmen feared that the Queen would harm their substantial economic interests. After forcing her to abdicate, the Americans established a provisional republic that wasted no time in formally asking Washington for annexation. Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland declined to act, though, and a resolution of this issue was put off for five years. In July 1898, after President William McKinley had declared that "we need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California,"[9] Congress voted to approve American takeover of the Hawaiian Islands, which were formally annexed by the United States on August 12, 1898.

The Philippines Problem

As in Cuba, the Philippines was already in open revolt against Spanish rule before the United States assumed control. The popular Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, proclaimed his country's independence from Spain on June 12, 1898, and, at American request, his forces helped in the capture on August 13 of Manila, the capital.

With the defeat of the Spanish, the Filipinos rather naturally assumed that the United States would readily grant them independence, just as had been promised to the Cubans. But when they realized that the US intended merely to exchange Spanish rulers for American overlords, they rose in revolt in February 1899.

President McKinley was sorely perplexed by the problem of the Philippines, a country he was supposed to have once admitted he "could not have located within 2,000 miles." Night after night he walked the floor of the White House and, as he himself said, went down on his knees and "prayed Almighty God for light and guidance." One night it came to him "that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them [the Philippine islands] all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died." After this inspiration, the President went to bed and slept soundly.[10]

In the three-year war that followed, the United States sent nearly 70,000 troops to suppress Aguinaldo's "insurrectionists." The conflict quickly degenerated into a guerilla war in which, inevitably, both sides committed terrible atrocities. Americans back home were shocked to read reports of their soldiers torturing and killing prisoners. In one case, when an American soldier was beheaded by a native in a village, 89 local Filipinos were burned and shot to death in retaliation.[11] A modified concentration camp system introduced by the Americans caused the deaths of more than 200,000 Philippine civilians.[12]

By the time it was "officially" over in July 1902, the war had cost the lives of 4,000 Americans and up to 20,000 Filipinos.[13] Many more died as indirect victims, including large numbers of non-combatants who perished due to disease and starvation. On Luzon island alone, one American general estimated, 600,000 inhabitants were killed or died from the effects of the war.[14]

What had begun supposedly as an altruistic crusade for the liberation of Cuba had turned into a war to acquire overseas territory, and an imperialist action to subdue people fighting for their freedom. The brutal suppression of the Filipino independence movement can only be regarded as one of the darker chapters in American history.

In the decades that followed, American efforts to "civilize" their "little brown Filipino brothers" brought a gradual turnover to native control of the islands' affairs, a process that was largely completed by the late 1930s. The Philippines was granted independence in 1946, although the US maintained a significant military "presence" on the islands. When the last American soldiers withdrew in November 1992, an estimated $3 billion in plant and equipment, thousands of half-caste children, and an undetermined concentration of toxic waste and unexploded ordnance were left behind.[15]

The Case for Imperialism

Supporters of imperialism viewed the acquisition of overseas territory as necessary for the maintenance and promotion of American national interests. They cited, among other reasons, the value of colonial holdings as strategic assets in the on-going quest for maritime supremacy.

Probably the most influential spokesman for this view was Alfred Thayer Mahan, a Navy captain and scholar whose numerous writings on the importance of sea power to a nation's place in the world persuaded many to "look outward." *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), was probably his most important work. Someday, he predicted, the United States would have to decide the great question of "whether Eastern or Western civilization is to dominate throughout the earth and to control its future."[16]

Among Mahan's most important disciples was Theodore Roosevelt, who was serving as Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. His reckless statements suggesting Spanish responsibility for the *Maine* explosion contributed significantly to the popular sentiment for war. (Some years later, "Teddy" was one of the most strident voices demanding US intervention in the First World War against the German "Huns.")

Another important follower of Mahan, and a close friend of Roosevelt, was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Influenced by Mahan, he and Roosevelt had campaigned hard for a modern American navy.

Alfred T. Mahan, naval officer and scholar. His writings convinced many that the United States must build a large navy and play a major role as a world military power. Someday, he said, the United States would have to decide "whether Eastern or Western civilization is to dominate throughout the earth to control its future."

Lodge was an influential voice for war against Spain, and for US acquisition of the Philippines. In a speech delivered to the Senate on March 7, 1900, he said:[17]

> Duty and interest alike, duty of the highest kind and interest of the highest and best kind, impose on us the retention of the Philippines, the development of the islands, and the expansion of our Eastern commerce.

Perhaps the effective voice for imperialism was that of Albert J. Beveridge, US Senator from 1899 to 1911. His impassioned defense of the US takeover of the Philippines had much to do with the decision to retain the islands. In a speech delivered on September 16, 1898, Beveridge exhorted:[18]

> The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire — the oceans join us. . . . Steam joins us; electricity joins us — the very elements are in league with our destiny. Cuba not contiguous!? Porto Rico not contiguous!? Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous!? Our navy will make them contiguous . . .
>
> [Today] we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. . . . Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor . . .
>
> Think of the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Porto Rico when the republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety! . . . Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common-school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba, when a government of law replaces the double reign of anarchy and tyranny!

Theodore Roosevelt, a dashing and energetic political leader, eagerly promoted American military adventurism and overseas expansion.

In an even more arrogant address delivered before the Senate on January 9, 1900, Beveridge declared:[19]

> [This] question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial.
>
> God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master-organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. . . . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples . . .
>
> He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America. . . . The Philippines are ours forever. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world.

Appealing to racial pride, Beveridge asked: "Shall [future generations] say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined that great commission?"[20]

President William McKinley decided, after much soul-searching, that the United States must take the Philippines and "uplift and civilize and Christianize" its people.

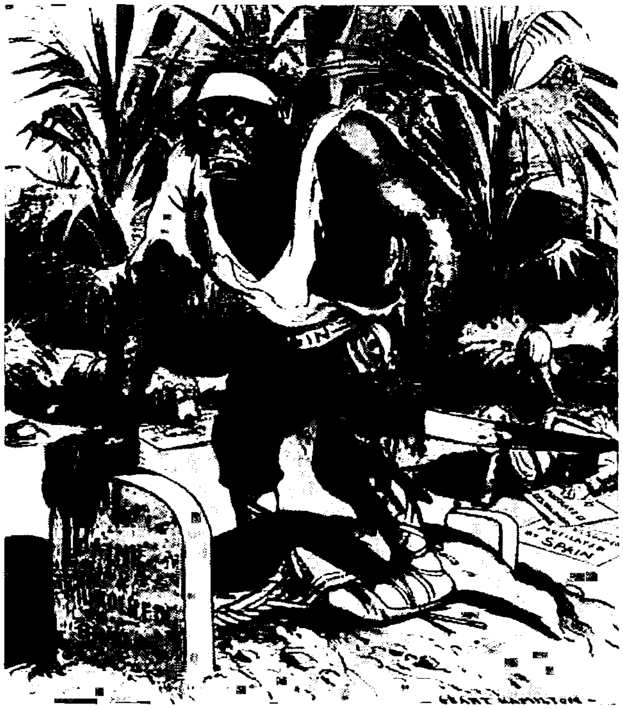
Josiah Strong, a militant Protestant missionary, was another influential agitator for imperialism. In *Our Country*, a book widely circulated during the 1880s and 1890s, he preached that the Anglo-Saxon race was chosen by God to civilize the world, and that the United States should bear the main responsibility for this crusade. "It is time," he insisted, "to dismiss 'the craven fear of being great,' to recognize the place in the world which God has given us and to accept the responsibilities which it devolves upon us in behalf of Christian civilization."[21] Millions of brown, yellow and black people, Strong said, awaited the blessings of Christianity. Through conquest, he said, the United States would bring the gospel of Jesus to these unfortunate races.

William Allen White, editor of the Emporia *Gazette*, a relatively small Kansas newspaper that nevertheless had considerable national influence, wrote in March 1899:[22]

> Only Anglo-Saxons can govern themselves. The Cubans will need a despotic government for many years to restrain anarchy until Cuba is filled with Yankees. . . . It is the Anglo-Saxon's manifest destiny to go forth as a world conqueror. He will take possession of the islands of the sea. . . . This is what fate holds for the chosen people.

Apart from such supposedly idealistic sentiment, blatant self-interest was not forgotten. In the cynical view of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for example, "The Filipino is treacherous and deceitful. Besides, we want his country."[23]

Imperialists also argued that the United States needed Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, and, later, Western Samoa, because of their supposed value as "stepping stones" to the rich markets of East Asia. The 1899-1900 period marked the beginning of America's decades-long obsession with China, an on-again, off-again fixation that was both sentimental and self-serving.



"The Spanish Brute," an American press commentary on the *Maine* disaster. This cartoon originally appeared in full color on the cover of *Judge*, a popular illustrated magazine of the day. Such propagandistic images presaged similarly hateful caricatures in the American press of Germans during the First and Second World Wars, of Japanese during the Second World War, and of Arabs in recent decades.

Puerto Rico, expansionists also claimed, was essential for the "fortification" of the proposed canal across the isthmus of Central America. (Passage of the "Teller Amendment" at the beginning of the war with Spain meant that Cuba, which had been eyed for this purpose, would not be able to play this role.)[24]

Finally, imperialists argued that acquiring colonial territories was necessary to keep them from coming under the control of potentially hostile rival powers, and thus would protect American security while advancing American interests. As George Kennan has pointed out, though, this argument had little, if any substance. "In the case of Puerto Rico and Hawaii. . . there was no real likelihood of anybody else intervening. Puerto Rico could have been left with Spain, or given independence like Cuba, so far as our security was concerned." While the Philippines "was a more serious" case, especially in so far as we had "shattered" Spanish rule there following the conquest of Manila, there is little reason to suppose that the takeover of the islands by another power — even Japan — would have been "particularly unfavorable to America's interests." Kennan concludes by noting that "if we today cannot see a likelihood that the [relinquishment of the Philippines would have threatened American interests, than] I doubt that the people of that time could have seen it very clearly themselves."[25]

Anti-Imperialist Arguments

Opponents of imperialism saw much danger in the seductive call to extend American power beyond the seas. Among the anti-imperialists were such prominent figures as former President Grover Cleveland, steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, author Mark Twain, former US Senator and cabinet member Carl Schurz, labor leader Samuel Gompers, historian William Graham Sumner, and philosopher William James.

"America's greatness lay at home," said Thomas Reed, the leading Republican in the Congress, "not in some far-off group of islands no one has ever heard of."[26] Anticipating a view that has a familiar ring today, he argued that "a great deal of work lay ahead in our own country to improve living conditions and raise the political intelligence among Americans rather than extending American rule over half-civilized people difficult to assimilate."[27] To Harvard President Charles William Eliot, imperialism was synonymous with "militarism," something "absolutely foreign to American society, . . . yet some endeavor to pass it off as patriotic Americanism."[28]

The American Anti-Imperialist League, founded in 1899, soon gained impressive support. In a formal statement it declared:[29]

> We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends towards militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. . . . We insist that the subjection of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

Although it did not succeed in its immediate goal, the Anti-Imperialist League upheld a venerable American tradition that would later find expression in the writings of revisionist historians of the interwar period, and in the America First Committee of 1940-1941.

James Bryce, a British opponent of imperialism, urged Americans to have nothing to do with expansion. To yield to the "earth hunger" raging among European states, he said, would be a "complete departure from the maxims of the illustrious founders of the republic." This was a reference to the thinking of men such as Thomas Jefferson, who held that the United States must be, above all, "a standing monument and an example."

Anti-imperialists also recalled the words of John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States, who admonished in 1821:

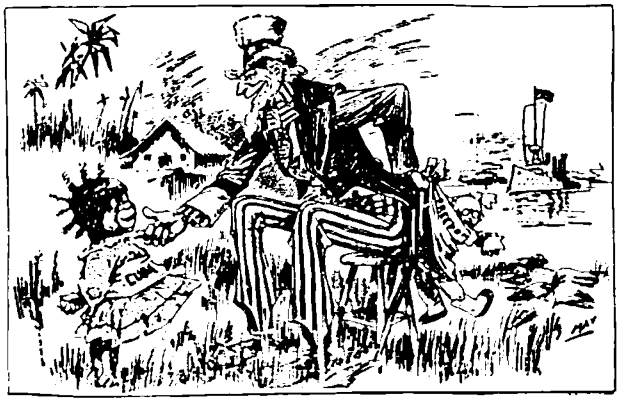
> Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her [America's] heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. But she is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners then her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.

During America's westward expansion of the 1840s, the problems associated with assimilating millions of people of alien race served as a brake on efforts to acquire large areas of Mexico, Central America, and even Cuba. Similar considerations figured in the debate of the late 1890s.

The anti-imperialists pointed out that the United States had never before acquired territory that could not be Americanized, and eventually admitted as a state on equal standing. Puerto Rico and the Philippines, though, were remote and densely populated by peoples of alien race and language. Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota summed up by remarking that bananas and self-government could not grow on the same section of land.[30]

Carl Schurz, a highly respected Republican leader who was closely identified with his party's efforts to "regenerate" both the American Indian and the Negro, left no doubt where he stood regarding the "yellow and brown race" of the Pacific Islands.[31] When the issue of Hawaiian annexation first came up in the early 1890s, the German-born liberal reformer expressed strong opposition in an article in *Harper's* magazine. Among other things, he cited a lengthy demographic survey of the islands' population that indicated that Americans and settlers of European descent were in a distinct minority. "If there was ever a population unfit to constitute a State of the American Union," he declared, "it is this."[32]

In the view of Thomas Reed, the problems that would arise over the "purchase" of the "ten million [Filipino] Malays . . . at $2.00 a head unpicked" would prove to be much greater than any in Hawaii. Labor leader Samuel Gompers worried that the "half-breeds and semi-barbaric peoples" of the new American colonies might undercut labor here. Imperialism, he charged, was an attempt "to divert the attention of our people from the ills from which we suffer at home."[33]



This cartoon in the *Detroit Journal*, 1907, reflected widely-held assumptions of the time. A paternalistic Uncle Sam, backed with naval might, has the power to grant or withhold "freedom" from a childlike Cuba.

Senator Ben Tillman told his colleagues in February 1899: "As a Senator from . . . South Carolina, with 750,000 colored population and only 500,000 whites, I realize what you are doing, while you don't; and I would save this country from the injection into it of another race question which can only breed bloodshed and a costly war and the loss of the lives of our brave soldiers."[34]

Anti-imperialists emphasized the grotesque absurdity, if not hypocrisy, of entering a war to free the Cubans, and then winding up with American troops 8,000 miles away, killing to impose alien rule on seven million people against their will. This was a violation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution. Tyranny abroad would beget tyranny at home.

Anti-imperialists also considered a "permanently subordinated American 'colonial empire' as a fundamental violation of the principle of equality laid down in the Declaration of Independence, the historic 'co-ordinate' basis of the American Union, and the cherished American anti-colonial heritage." Implicitly at stake here was the character of America as a nation and as a republic.

George F. Hoar, a Republican Senator from Massachusetts, broke with the imperialist policy of his own party. In a speech to the Senate in January 1899, he said:[35]

> . . . Under the Declaration of Independence, you cannot govern a foreign territory, a foreign people, another people than your own, that you cannot subjugate them and govern them against their will, because you think it is for their good, when they do not. . . . You have no right at the cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your Declaration of Independence and your Constitution and your notions of freedom and notions of what is good . . .

"Imperialism and republicanism," said Hoar, "were mutually incompatible."[36] The Democratic Party platform of 1900 echoed this view: "We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will quickly and inevitably lead to despotism at home."[37] George S. Boutewell, president of the Anti-Imperialist League, put it this way:[38]

> The question I put to the defenders of this war [in the Philippines]. What is the end that you seek? Is it the vassalage of these people? If so, then you are the enemies of the republic and the betrayers of the principles upon which the republic thus far has been made to rest.

Foes of overseas expansion also argued that America's time-honored policy had well served the nation's defense requirements. As long as the US minded its own business, she could easily defend her shores without a great military complex. But now the United States was acquiring far-away territories that would require a costly, two-ocean navy to protect. Just how far were Americans prepared to go, skeptics asked, to become involved in foreign squabbles?

Andrew Carnegie opposed imperialism for what he regarded as common sense reasons. The Scottish-born businessman, who had made a fabulous fortune in the iron and steel industry, said:[39]

> The naval powers of Europe, and Japan also, are apparently determined to be prepared for a terrific struggle for possessions in the Far East, close to the Philippines — and why not for these islands themselves? . . .
>
> It has never been considered the part of wisdom to thrust one's hand into the hornet's nest, and it does seem as if the United States must lose all claim to ordinary prudence and good sense if she enter this arena, and become involved in the intrigues and threats of war which make Europe an armed camp.
>
> It is the parting of the ways. We have a continent to populate and develop; there are only 23 persons to the square mile in the United States. England has 370, Belgium 571, Germany 250. A

> tithe [tenth] of the cost of maintaining our sway over the Philippines would improve our internal waterways; deepen our harbors; . . . thoroughly improve the Lower and Upper Mississippi, and all our seaboard harbors.
>
> All these enterprises would be as nothing in cost in comparison to the sums required for the experiment of possessing the Philippine Islands, 7,000 miles from our shores. If the object be to render our Republic powerful among nations, can there be any doubt as to which policy is better?

Finally, anti-imperialists argued, by meddling in the Far East, the United States could not consistently forbid other powers from doing the same in the Americas — as the United States had long insisted through the Monroe Doctrine. "The Monroe Doctrine is gone!," cried Senator Hoar.

A Constitutional Issue

Imperialism presented a difficult constitutional problem. Until the 1890s, the acquisition of new US territory was always considered "preliminary to its organization as new states, to be admitted to the Union on the basis of 'co-ordinate equality'." Now, for the first time in American history, "sizeable populations were taken under our flag with no wide anticipation that they would ever be accepted into statehood." Imperialists responded to such considerations by insisting that the federal government had a long-established right "to acquire new territory — by purchase, treaty, or war," and that such "colonies might be governed as Congress saw fit without assuming either future statehood or full application of all constitutional rights to the native." In short, the Constitution need not follow the flag.[41]

It wasn't until sometime later that the Supreme Court decided the Constitutional issue implicit in imperialism. In the "Insular Cases," the Court upheld the legality of what had taken place. It created a doctrine of "incorporation," which stipulated that the United States first had to "incorporate" the territory in question in order for the Constitution to be applicable.[42] The Court found, though, that *none* of the newly acquired territories had satisfied this doctrine, and decided that the Constitution does not follow the flag. The people of the newly acquired territories are not automatically entitled to the same guarantees of the Constitution as US citizens. The Court's rulings confirmed what many had suspected: that the US government never intended to consider any of the colonial acquisitions for eventual statehood.

Bryan's Betrayal

Reflecting an intense national discussion on the question of American imperialism, the debate in the US Senate over ratification of the peace treaty with Spain was likewise heated. On February 6, 1899, it barely approved the treaty by a vote of 57-27, just slightly more than the two-thirds majority needed for ratification.

Democratic Party leader William Jennings Bryan betrayed principle and his supporters to provide critical support in ratifying the treaty by which the United States formally became an imperialist power.

To the astonishment of his colleagues, and to the gratification of his imperialist foes, William Jennings Bryan — the Democratic party's 1896 presidential candidate, and an acknowledged "pillar" of the Anti-Imperialist League — decided at the last minute to renounce principle and support the treaty.[43] His betrayal was based on what turned out to be a gross political miscalculation. He reckoned that if the treaty were ratified, imperialism would be a potent issue in the forthcoming election campaign, which he could then exploit to his advantage. He therefore used his considerable prestige to ensure ratification, a move that, by all accounts, was decisive in this close vote.

But the "Great Commoner" had reckoned wrongly, and went down to defeat once again in the presidential election of 1900. Benefiting from a revived economy, and taking credit for the impressive imperialist spoils of the recent war against Spain, McKinley coasted to a relatively easy re-election victory.[44] While historical "what ifs" are by nature speculative, it is intriguing to imagine the course that American policy — and world history — might have taken if Bryan had let conscience and not expediency be his guide in February 1899.

At any rate, the story of America's great transition from an inner-directed republic to an imperial power provides timely lessons for Americans today.

Notes

1. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 391.
2. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 422.
3. According to a well-known anecdote (repeated, for example, in the film "Citizen Kane"), Hearst sent an artist to Cuba to produce pictures of strife there for his paper. The artist supposedly telegraphed: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war." Hearst, so the story goes, wired back: "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." See: Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 453 (n.)
4. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 460.
5. See "War Atrocity Propaganda Exposed," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 243 f.
6. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 474.
7. Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 175.
8. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), p. 282.
9. Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 179.
10. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 286.
11. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 285.
12. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty: Investigating United States History* (Sacramento: Calif. State Dept. of Education, 1973), p. 511.
13. Henry F. Graff, ed., *American Imperialism and the Philippines Insurrection* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. xiv.
14. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 285.
15. *The Washington Post*, November 25, 1992.
16. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 276.
17. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty: Investigating United States History* (1973), p. 509.
18. Carol Berkin & L. Wood, *Land of Promise: A History of the United States* (1983), p. 511.
19. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 287.; J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (Sacramento: 1973), p. 509.
20. Mary B. Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States* (Boston: 1990), Vol. 2, p. 651.
21. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 509.
22. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 287.
23. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 471.
24. Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 257-258. The Teller Amendment pledged that the United States would transfer sovereignty to Cuba as soon as order had been restored. It was proposed to appease the advocates of the war with Spain who opposed imperialism.
25. George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 242-243.
26. B. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (Bantam Books, 1966), p. 163.
27. B. Tuchman, *Proud Tower* (1966), p. 163.
28. B. Tuchman, *Proud Tower* (1966), p. 168.
29. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 506.
30. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 477.
31. F. Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: 1963), p. 242.
32. F. Merk, *Manifest Destiny* (1963), p. 243.
33. Mary B. Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation* (1990), Vol. 2, p. 650.
34. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), pp. 506 f.
35. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 507.
36. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1970), p. 579.
37. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (Sacramento: 1973), p. 507.
38. Henry F. Graff, ed., *American Imperialism and the Philippines Insurrection* (Boston: 1969), pp. xiv-xv.
39. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 507.
40. George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), cited in: Jerald A. Combs, ed., *Nationalist, Realist, and Radical: Three Views of American Diplomacy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 241.
41. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: 1970), p. 579.
42. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: 1970), pp. 580-584.
43. According to F.H. Harrington in "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xxii (1935), pp. 211-230. Bryan and his supporters were less fervid than the Cleveland Democrats over the imperialist issue, contributing not only to the movement's weakness, but to the defeat of the Democrats in 1900.
44. Daniel Smith, *The American Diplomatic Experience* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972), pp. 212-214.

"The greatest enemy of the truth is very often not the lie — deliberate, contrived and dishonest — but the myth — persistent, persuasive and unrealistic."

—John F. Kennedy

A Red-Letter Day for Revisionism, April 22, 1993

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Challenge

ROBERT FAURISSON

The question of the existence or non-existence of the Nazi gas chambers is one of considerable historical importance. If the gas chambers existed, they provide evidence that the Germans attempted to physically exterminate the Jews; on the other hand, if they didn't exist, we have no evidence of such an extermination attempt. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a leading French anti-Revisionist, is under no illusion. To those tempted to give up the controversy over the gas chambers, he has warned that to jettison the gas chambers "is to surrender in open country." (*Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.) One can only agree. The gas chambers are not — contrary to what Jean-Marie Le Pen once remarked — a mere footnote (*"point de détail"*) of Second World War history. Thus, those who contest their existence are subject to judicial sanction in France and some other countries.

Nor could the monumental US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, which was formally dedicated on April 22, 1993, allow itself to ignore the Nazi gas chambers. The question remained: What kind of physical representation of this terrifying weapon would the new Museum provide?

We now know the answer, and it is dismaying: For lack of anything better this opulent museum — which has cost American taxpayers and donors from the American Jewish community more than $150 million — has been reduced to showing us, as its only model of a homicidal gas chamber, a casting of a gas chamber at the former Majdanek camp in Poland: a gas chamber for . . . delousing. As I shall explain, even Jean-Claude Pressac, author of a 564-page work published in 1989 in cooperation with the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation of New York, was obliged to acknowledge that this room was merely a delousing chamber.

This is nothing new. As early as 1945 the Americans were portraying four delousing (disinfestation) chambers in the Dachau camp (Germany) as homicidal gas chambers.

Those in charge of the new Holocaust Museum in Washington have resorted to so grave an imposture, I believe, because they are forced to do so: they are not able to offer visitors a physical representation, in any form whatsoever, of one of the chambers, we are told incessantly, the Germans used to murder swarms of victims.

My Challenge in Stockholm and Washington

On March 17, 1992, I threw down the gauntlet to the Jewish organizations of the entire world. On that day, after arriving in Stockholm at the invitation of my friend Ahmed Rami, I issued a challenge of international scope to the Swedish media. It consisted of this nine-word sentence: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!" These words were accompanied by two pages of explanation.

According to my information, the Swedish media, eager to answer my challenge, immediately contacted every possible source in order to obtain photographs of Nazi gas chambers. To their consternation, they discovered that no such photographs exist, and that the facilities or rooms currently portrayed to tourists at Auschwitz and elsewhere as homicidal gas chambers have none of the characteristics of such chemical slaughterhouses. Although the Swedish media leveled innumerable personal attacks against me, my challenge was not mentioned in a single newspaper article, or in a single word on radio or television.

Over the months the embarrassment would grow among those who propagate the thesis of the physical extermination of the Jews during the Second World War: hence the frenzied agitation that has gripped Jewish organizations worldwide.

On April 21, 1993, I renewed my challenge in Washington, this time directing it to the officials of the Holocaust Museum that was to be dedicated there the next day, with President Clinton, several heads of state, and Elie Wiesel in attendance. Among the Museum officials I had in mind, I was thinking especially of Michael Berenbaum, its Research Institute Director.

My challenge in Washington can be summed up as follows:

> Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it: neither at Auschwitz, nor in

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Robert Faurisson is acknowledged as Europe's leading Holocaust Revisionist. He was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as associate professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. Dr. Faurisson has addressed several IHR conferences, and many of his numerous essays and reviews on the Holocaust issue have appeared in translation in the *Journal*. This essay was translated by IHR editor Theodore J. O'Keefe.

any other concentration camp; not in a museum, or a book; neither in a dictionary nor an encyclopedia; not in a photograph, model or documentary film.

Of course I am acquainted with certain attempts at representation, but all of them are illusory. None withstands examination. In particular, when one understands the extreme dangers of using Zyklon B (a commercial insecticide) or hydrocyanic acid (HCN), one quickly realizes that the sites sometimes portrayed to tourists as homicidal gas chambers could never have served as chemical slaughterhouses without enormous danger for everyone in the area. When one understands the extreme — and inevitable — complexity of a gas chamber for the execution of a single man by hydrocyanic acid in an American penitentiary, one sees immediately that the places portrayed as Nazi "gas chambers" — where, day after day, veritable swarms of victims were supposedly killed — lack today (and lacked then) the least bit of the formidable machinery that would have been required.

Apart from the matter of sealing the chambers, one of the most serious problems to solve would have been that of the entering the HCN-saturated chamber after the execution to remove the corpses, themselves saturated with the same poison. Hydrocyanic acid penetrates into the skin, the mucous membranes, and the bodily fluids. The corpse of a man who has just been killed by this powerful poison is itself a dangerous source of poisoning, and cannot be touched with bare hands. In order to enter the HCN-saturated chamber to remove the corpse, special gear is needed, as well as a gas mask with a special filter. Because physical exertion must be kept to a minimum (it accelerates respiration, reducing the filter's effectiveness), it is necessary, before entering the area, to evacuate the gas, and then neutralize it. On this matter, I refer to the documents on gas chambers used in American penitentiaries that I published in 1980.[1]

I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum and, in particular, Mr. Berenbaum, that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter. I am even less interested in a section of a wall, a door, a pile of shoes, a bundle of hair, or a heap of eyeglasses. I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.

Evasion and Trickery

I knew this challenge could not be answered because, as a matter of fact, for half a century they have been telling us about Nazi gas chambers without ever showing us one. I also fully expected that the Museum would be reduced to playing a trick of some kind. But just what kind of trick?

The answer would come the next day, April 22, the date of the formal dedication. (The Museum opened to the public on April 26.) On the 22nd, I obtained a copy of a book of about 250 pages that presents itself as a sort of catalog of the new Museum. This book is by Michael Berenbaum, and is entitled *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust As Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (1993, xvi + 240 pages).

On page 138 are three photographs:

— The first shows a Zyklon B canister and some pellets of Zyklon B, which is described as a "highly poisonous insecticide."

— The second shows "a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek . . . from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole."

— The third photograph shows "the inside of a Majdanek gas chamber. The blue stain is a chemical remnant of Zyklon B."[2]

The first photograph proves nothing more than that the Germans used the insecticide Zyklon B. (This commercial product was used throughout the world.) The second and the third photos should be familiar to visitors of the former Majdanek camp in

Dr. Robert Faurisson at the April 21 IHR meeting in suburban Washington, DC, where he issued his challenge to the officials of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Poland. They will recognize the outer door and the interior door, as well as a portion of the inside of the first chamber shown to visitors there as an execution gas chamber, even though this room has all the characteristics of a delousing gas chamber. In this regard, I will not cite here my own research, including my photographs that show the entire room, including the little annex containing a stove to provide the heat, which was essential to circulate the HCN from Zyklon B. (In the second photograph described above, the intake vent for the air heated by the furnace can be seen, at hip height, on the right.) Nor shall I cite here the expert report of American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter, which concludes definitively that this room was a delousing gas chamber where, not human beings but, at most, typhus-bearing lice were killed.

J.-C. Pressac's Admission

I shall content myself here by referring to Jean-Claude Pressac, protégé of the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and author of the 1989 anti-Revisionist work *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (a misleading title, by the way). Here, then, is Pressac's opinion of the room that Berenbaum dares to portray as a homicidal gas chamber:

> The red-ochre bricks stained with dark blue were for him [Bernard Jouanneau, an attorney who opposed Faurisson in a 1982 court case in Paris] material and visible proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. The problem, for there is one, is that the gas chamber presented has all the characteristics of a DELOUSING [*sic*] installation. I am not saying that it was never used to kill people, for that is possible [here, Pressac is wrong. — R.F.[3]] but the traces of Prussian blue are an absolutely certain indication of use for delousing purposes. (p. 555.)

Pressac goes on to note that the presence of a peep-hole is no proof of a homicidal gas chamber because a delousing gas chamber may be furnished with such a peep-hole. He concludes:

> I am sorry to say, and I am not the only one in the West, that the Majdanek homicidal and/or delousing gas chambers are still waiting for a true historian, which is mildly upsetting in view of the fact that the camp fell into the hands of the Russians intact in 1944 (p. 555.)

On page 557 he presents a photograph of the exterior of the gas chamber in question and of another gas chamber located in the same building. According to the caption, this is a photograph

> . . . showing one of the disinfestation gas chambers thought to be a homicidal gas chamber. Between the two doors with their inspection peep-holes, the darker bricks are of Prussian blue colour, a sign of prolonged use of "Blausäure/blue acid," in other words hydrocyanic or prussic acid sold as a delousing agent under the name of "Zyklon B."

It should be noted that these gas chambers were in the *Bad und Desinfektion* ("Bath and Disinfection") building, located right at the entrance to the camp, and in plain view.

It is understandable that in his "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 224-232) Berenbaum makes no mention of Pressac's 564-page book.

A New Advance for Revisionism

In 1978 President Jimmy Carter established a commission charged with creating a federal government Holocaust memorial museum. He chose as its chairman Elie Wiesel, thereby providing Arthur Butz with the inspiration for a comment both accurate and sarcastic: A historian was needed, but a histrion was chosen.

The choice of Berenbaum as the Museum's "scholarly" authority is of the same nature. Berenbaum is an adjunct professor of theology at Georgetown University. Where a historian was required, a theologian was chosen — which is appropriate because, for some years now, in place of the history of the "Holocaust," Jewish organizations have substituted the *religion* of the "Holocaust."

The central pillar of this religion, as I have often said, is "the magical gas chamber that, like a mirage, is the image of nothing real."

To portray this "central pillar," Museum officials selected a delousing gas chamber falsely labeled as a homicidal gas chamber. Although it was designed and built by the Germans as a facility for protecting the health of Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners, it is presented to us as an instrument for the torture and murder of these inmates. This portrayal epitomizes the deceit and the effrontery of the zealots of the "Holocaust" religion.

The time has come for a little more intellectual honesty and sanity regarding the story of the Jewish people's real misfortunes during the Second World War. Visitors to the new Holocaust Museum in Washington — particularly American taxpayers, without whom it would not exist — have a right to demand an accounting from Mr. Berenbaum and his friends. A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* was headlined "Poll Finds 1 Out of 3 Americans Open to Doubt There Was a Holocaust." (April 20, 1993) The doubts will increase.

A few days after the Museum's formal dedication, Berenbaum revealed to a newspaper:

> You're surrounded by death [in the Museum]. It's like working in an emergency room or a mortuary. . . . I've ended up on an analyst's couch. (*The Washington Post*, April 26, 1993, p. B6.)

It is not out of the question that Berenbaum will return to the analyst's couch when he grasps the grave consequences of his deception. April, 22, 1993, was supposed to be a date for the consecration of the "Holocaust" religion on American soil. In reality, this date will go down in history as marking an outstanding victory for revisionist historians.

NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOAH BUSINESS
HoLoc

A few of the two hundred or so persons who rallied in Washington, DC, on April 22 to express opposition to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

To conclude, I would like to pay tribute here to those revisionists who have contributed to the victory on this specific point:

— First, to Ahmed Rami, exiled in Stockholm, who allowed me to publicly launch the "Stockholm Challenge" of March 17, 1992;

— Next, to the Institute for Historical Review in southern California, which, since 1979, has, more than any institution in the world, made possible the publication of books, essays and articles on the "Holocaust" of a scholarly and often unrewarding nature, and this in spite of repression, persecution and violence; this Institute has organized eleven conferences under sometimes difficult and even dramatic conditions, and, as a matter of fact, arranged the meeting in suburban Washington, DC, on April 21 where I was able to renew my Stockholm Challenge, this time to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum;[4]

— Finally, to Ernst Zündel of Toronto, without whom "Holocaust" revisionism would probably still be struggling in obscurity.

My thoughts are also of the French revisionists who have expended so much effort, among them one person in particular, whom I cannot mention without putting in danger, who could be called the mainspring of the revisionist movement in France.

Notes

1. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: 1980), pp. 301-309.

2. On pages 140-144 of Berenbaum's new book, one finds naive plaster figurines that supposedly represent, in sequence, victims in the changing room, in the gas chamber, and in the crematory room of an Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory. While historical museums (such as military and war museums) routinely strive to illustrate what really happened using models that are as accurate and as graphic as possible, these figurines in Berenbaum's book are presented in a kind of ethereal setting. The captions are sullied by imprecision, errors, and absurdities, and they testify to an urgent need to revise downward the number of alleged victims of each gassing, and the number of daily cremations. Berenbaum makes discreet allusion to a model that the Polish Communists built after the war, and which is still exhibited at the Auschwitz State Museum (Block 4, second floor). I understand that a replica of this model may be displayed at the Holocaust Museum in Washington. If so, why hasn't Berenbaum included it in his book? Might he have learned that I often use this model to illustrate the physical impossibilities of the gassing operations it is supposed to replicate? See, in particular, my video "Le Problème des chambres à gaz" (1982), as well as my commentary, "Auschwitz en images," given at the end of the French edition of Wilhelm Stäglich's book, *Le Mythe d'Auschwitz* (La Vieille Taupe, 1986, pp. 492, 507). Even J.-C. Pressac is skeptical of this model. (*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 377-378). Symptomatically, though, he does not provide one of his own.

3. A Zyklon B delousing gas chamber could not have been used as a homicidal gas chamber. The first can be operated relatively easily, while the second is necessarily very complicated. The conceptual difference between the two lies in the relative ease of ridding the fabric and clothes of HCN gas after the delousing, as opposed to the extreme difficulty of removing gas from the skin, mucous membranes, and bodily fluids of a corpse. In the first case, the HCN gas is removed by blowing in a large amount of hot air, which causes most of it to evaporate. Then the fabric and the clothes are beaten for some time outdoors to discharge the remaining gas. In the second case, heating or beating the corpses would not be possible. An authentic homicidal gas chamber, of the kind used in the United States to execute convicted criminals, is extremely complicated. To execute even a *single person* is so complicated that one can scarcely imagine the appalling sophistication the Nazi gas chambers would have required to execute not just one victim, but hundreds or even thousands at a time. Such gas chambers would have become veritable baths of poison, impossible to drain. Nobody, even wearing a gas mask, could have ever survived entering such oceans of hydrocyanic acid and making the physical effort of removing the corpses, and clean up for the next batch.

4. At that meeting, I also made two additional challenges:
   First: give me the name of the person whom you consider to be the best eyewitness of gassings.
   Second: make public the documents you continue to keep secret, particularly the papers of Dr. Mengele. (There are about 30 pounds of Mengele papers, including his memoir *Fiat Lux* — "Let There Be Light" — which suggests that he describes there the reality of Auschwitz.)

MOVING?

Please notify us well in advance of your new address.

New Attack Against Faurisson and Rami in Stockholm

Even before he arrived in Stockholm in late May, French professor and revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson was expecting trouble. This would be his third visit to the Swedish capital at the invitation of Moroccan-born refugee, author and revisionist activist Ahmed Rami.

A few days earlier, the militant Jewish organization "Betar" had annnounced in Paris that it would try to stop Faurisson's arrival in Sweden even "by force." (*La Lettre de Magazine Hebdo*, May 21, p. 4.) Accordingly, 30 Jews flew from Paris to Stockholm on May 21 to oppose Faurisson's visit to Sweden.

On May 22, when Faurisson and Rami arrived at the (supposedly secret) site in Stockholm where a private meeting of revisionists was to take place, they first parked 300 yards away. A waiting mob of about 30 stick-wielding thugs recognized Rami and Faurisson, and began pelting the car with stones they had brought along in sacks for the occasion. Fortunately, the two revisionists were not injured, and damage to the car was slight.

The thugs, all wearing hoods to hide their identity, then attacked other revisionists at the meeting site. In the ensuing assault, which forced the cancellation of the meeting, the hoodlums wounded two plainclothes policemen. Four of the attackers — one French Jew and three Swedish Jews — were arrested.

This was Faurisson's third visit to Stockholm at Rami's invitation. During the first, a gang of thugs attacked Faurisson, Rami and two young Swedes on March 17, 1992. One of the young Swedes was seriously injured, while the others were able to flee. The thugs also broke windows of the meeting site. Police who were present refused to intervene. (For more about this, see the *IHR Newsletter*, May 1992.) Faurisson's second visit in December 1992 took place without trouble.

On September 16, 1989, Faurisson was attacked and nearly killed by three men who were later described by police investigators as "young Jewish activists from Paris."

Revisionism is rapidly gaining support in Scandinavia, Faurisson and Rami report.

Jewish organizations in Europe are particularly furious these days because Rami and his many Swedish friends recently completed a successful mass distrbution of 260,000 copies of an effective revisionist leaflet.

Rami's address at the October 1992 IHR Conference will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

Could *You* Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By **Akira Kohchi** (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified—he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

Chapters include: At the Beginning • The Pacific • The Home Battleground • Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 • The Days After • The Surrender of Japan and Her Recovery • My America and "Pearl Harbor" • Hiroshima and Me • At the End

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President Tudjman Refuses to Recant

Croatia's Leader Denounced as Holocaust Revisionist

In spite of strong criticism from prominent American Jewish leaders, the President of Croatia refuses to repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue. Franjo Tudjman, Croatia's democratically elected leader, and a respected European scholar, has aroused controversy for publicly rejecting the "Six Million" story.

At the invitation of the US government, Tudjman and other foreign leaders attended the formal ceremony on April 22 in Washington, DC, dedicating the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Elie Wiesel, a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and other German wartime camps, was not happy. "Tudjman's presence in the midst of survivors is a disgrace," said Wiesel, who also expressed concern that a 1988 book by the Croatian historian would, in the words of the *New York Times* (April 22), "fuel the arguments of historical revisionists who deny that the Holocaust occurred."

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, said that the only justification for Tudjman's appearance at the dedication ceremony would be to provide an opportunity for him to publicly repudiate his heretical views. "If that is not the case," Hier said, "the invitation is giving credence to one of the world's most famous Holocaust revisionists." (*New York Times*, April 22, 1993.)

"Exaggerated Data"

Tudjman readily acknowledges that Europe's Jews suffered "terrible hardships" during the war years. At the same time, though, he has written in *Bespuca — Povijesne Zbiljnosti* ("Wastelands: Historical Truth"), a 500-page scholarly work first published in 1988:

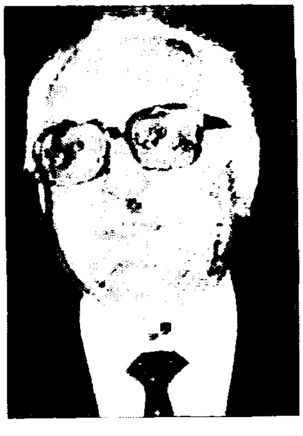
> The estimated loss of up to six million [Jewish] dead is founded too much on both emotional, biased testimonies and on exaggerated data in the postwar reckonings of war crimes and on the squaring of accounts with the defeated.... In the mid-1980s, world Jewry still has the need to recall its "holocaust" even by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria.

Tudjman reportedly estimates that a total of 900,000 Jews perished in the catastrophe of the Second World War. (*New York Times*, April 22.) He also suggests that many wartime Jewish deaths would not have occurred if German armed forces had prevailed over the Soviet Union, allowing for a "territorial solution" to the Jewish question such as a "reservation" in eastern Poland or in Madagascar. (See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 240-243, and, *The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.)

Tudjman reaffirmed his revisionist outlook in an interview with Canadian television: "With regard to Jews, I'm inclined to agree with those scholars in the world who say that the figure of six million is exaggerated." (*The New Republic*, Jan. 20, 1992, p. 5.)

Respected Historian

Tudjman's views are all the more noteworthy because they are those of a respected historian who cannot seriously be regarded as a "Nazi." During the Second World War he fought against Croatia's pro-German Ustashe regime as an officer in the partisan forces of Communist leader Tito. After 1945, he served in Belgrade as a member of the General Staff of the Yugoslav National Army, eventually attaining the rank of Major General. In 1961 he left the military to pursue academic interests.


Franjo Tudjman

After study in Belgrade, he assumed a position in 1963 as a part-time professor on the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Zagreb, and in 1964 he earned a doctorate in history. From 1961 to 1967, he was director in Zagreb of the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement. He has also served as editor-in-chief of the magazine *Paths of the Revolution*, and as a member of the editorial boards of the military-theoretical journal *Voino delo* and the intellectual magazine *Forum.*

Tudjman is the author of numerous historical works, several of which have appeared in other languages, and has been a guest lecturer at universities and institutes in Italy, Germany and the United States. In 1966 he was a speaker at the International Seminar series at Harvard University. His book *Nationalism in Contemporary Europe* was published in 1981 by the Columbia University Press, and his controversial 1988 book *Bespuca* ("Wastelands") was given a respectful review by Germany's prestigious national daily, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 16, 1990. Tudjman, the paper told readers, has dealt with questions of contemporary history "with competence and courage."

Tudjman's refusal to give in to demands that he repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue is entirely consistent with his record of defiance of biased "official" history. Because of his dissident views, Communist Yugoslav authorities ordered his arrest in 1972 and barred him from public activity for two years. After a second arrest in 1981 for dissident activities, he was imprisoned for a year and a half.

Following the breakup of the artificial Yugoslav state, Tudjman emerged as leader of the Croatian Democratic Union, his country's major political party. After the victory of his party in the first democratic elections held in Croatia in more than 50 years, he was sworn in as president on May 30, 1990.

A Little-Known Holocaust

Few of those Americans who are so determined to "never forget" the wartime fate of Europe's Jews know much about what happened to the continent's other national and ethnic groups. For example, many tens of thousands of Croat, Slovene and Bosnian Muslim prisoners were summarily murdered at the end of the war by the partisan forces of Yugoslav Communist leader Tito (who was backed by the United States and Britain). In addition to combat personnel taken prisoner, the victims also included nurses, nuns and children.

Most historians have estimated that the partisans shot from 70,000 to 100,000 people without trial within weeks of the war's end, although some believe that as many as 500,000 were summarily killed. Most of the victims were people who were trying to flee Tito's Communist forces. The refugees were returned by British troops from detention camps in Austria, or were turned back at the border by British forces who occupied southern Austria and northeastern Italy. At one site near Sosice in Slovenia, for example, as many as 40,000 were systematically shot, and their bodies flung into caves. (See: *New York Times*, July 9, 1990.; *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 4, 1990.; *The New Republic*, Dec. 24, 1990, pp. 16-19.)

Revisionism in Croatia

Reflecting the historical revisionism that has been sweeping Eastern Europe and the lands of the former Soviet Union in recent years, a downtown street and an elementary school in Croatia's capital city of Zagreb have recently been renamed in honor of Mile Budak, a noted author of several novels written before the Second World War. Most of Zagreb University's main facilities are on the newly named street. The Simon Wiesenthal Center has protested the renaming because Budak was a ranking minister in the wartime Croatian republic (which was allied with Germany), and promulgated the law prohibiting Jewish participation in Croatian "institutions of social, sports and cultural life."

While a few European countries have outlawed Holocaust Revisionism, in Croatia it enjoys support from the highest level. Indeed, Croatians are more free than Americans to express their views on this issue.

— M. W.

The Organization of American Historians: Faithfully Reflecting Academic Standards

Mark Weber

As one might expect, the recent annual conference of the Organization of American Historians — the foremost association of scholars devoted to US history — and the OAH's scholarly *Journal of American History*, faithfully reflect the prevailing standards and ideological slant of America's historical "establishment."

At the 1993 OAH Annual Meeting, held April 15-18 in Anaheim, California, the specialized sessions devoted to particular historical issues included the following:

— "Links in the Chain: Musical Culture of the Labor and Black Freedom Movements"
— "Urban Black Communities in the Twentieth Century: Race, Class and Economic Change"
— "The African-American Context for Cowboy and Western Music"
— "Woman's Work and Gender Identity"
— "Woman's Culture and Women's Biography"
— "Malcolm X and Historical Memory"
— "Race, Ethnicity, and Public Policy in Modern America"
— "Recent Research in Slave Women's History"
— "Recruiting Minorities into the Historical Profession"
— "The Development of a Chinese American Consciousness"
— "African American Intellectuals and the Discourse of American Culture"
— "The Legacies of W.E.B. Du Bois"
— "The Problem of American Conservatism"
— "Religion and Identity in the Old South: Gen-

der and Race"

— "Race, Class and the Law in the South"

— "Race, Labor and 'Social Equality' in the Jim Crow South"

— "Race, Gender and Violence: The Case of *Celia, A Slave*"

— "Work-in-Progress Roundtable on Gay and Lesbian history"

— "Work-in-Progress Roundtable on American Indian History"

— "African-Americans and Public Rituals in New York City"

— "On Common Ground: The Historical Archaeology of African America"

— "Ethnicity and Class in Los Angeles"

— "Los Angeles One Year Later: Race and Politics in L.A"

— "The Culture of Violence in the American Revolution"

— "Celebration: Songs of American Diversity"

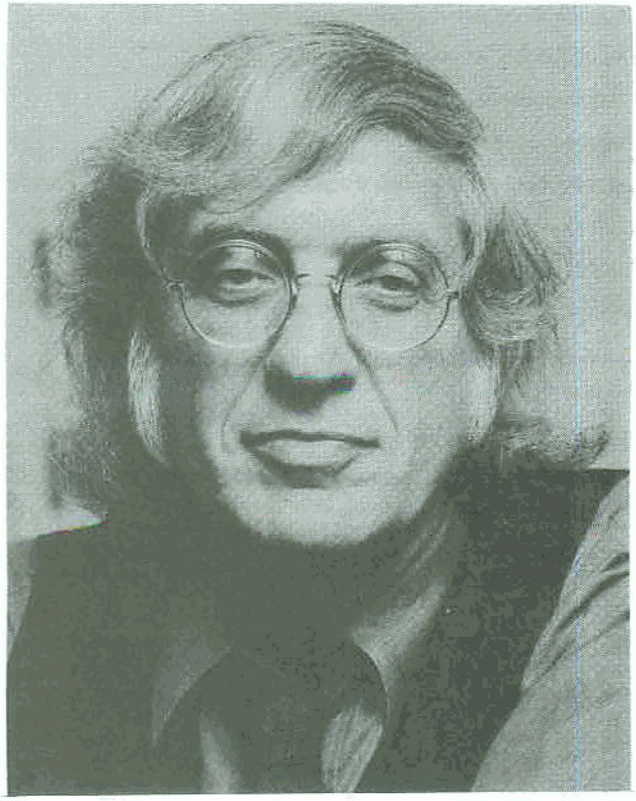
— "Twenty-Five Years After King's Assassination: Perspectives on Black Movement Leadership"

On Friday evening, the 16th, OAH President Lawrence W. Levine, a specialist of African-American history at the University of California, Berkeley, delivered a rousing Presidential Address to the conference attendees. In this keynote speech (which I attended), Levine mockingly rejected what he called the "Eurocentric" interpretation of history, and staunchly defended the current trend toward an ever more "inclusive" treatment of the past. He dismissed as wrong-headed and prejudiced the critics of this trend, specifically mentioning by name the warnings of previous OAH presidents C. Vann Woodward and Eugene Genovese.

While most historians present expressed their approval of Levine's message with an enthusiastic standing ovation, not everyone was thrilled. The next day, during a symposium on "Writing Contemporary Presidential Biography" (which I also attended), Stephen Ambrose of the University of New Orleans joked that this is one of the few sessions at this year's OAH conference not devoted to class, gender, race or ethnicity. Contrary to what seems to be the currently prevailing wisdom, he went on, it still worthwhile and appropriate to deal with history made by "dead white males" — including former American presidents.

Ambrose also noted with regret that although this OAH conference is taking place on the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, not a single session is devoted to him or his legacy. But perhaps that is just as well, Ambrose went on, because more attention would likely be devoted to Sally Hemmings than to the Declaration of Independence. The historian also noted that not a single session at this year's conference dealt with the world-historical events of 50 years ago, including, for example, the first meeting at Teheran of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

Like the OAH Annual Meeting, *The Journal of American History*, the OAH's quarterly scholarly periodical, similarly reflects the prevailing outlook and standards of historians of United States history.



Lawrence Levine, President of the Organization of American Historians, 1992-1993, and a professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

On the front cover of the March 1993 issue (which is more than 500-pages thick), is a photograph of "Chicano students protesting during the March 1968 high school walkouts in East Los Angeles." The photo highlights a lengthy feature article inside by Edward Escobar, "The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968-1971."

Accompanying this polemical piece are five photographs that show demonstrating Mexican-Americans, and alleged police repression against Chicanos. ". . . Thus, while the LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department] may have curbed militant Chicano activism," Escobar happily concludes his essay, "the response to the department's tactics gave rise to a new consciousness that has the potential to empower the Chicano community."

In this same issue of the OAH *Journal* is a laudatory review of Herbert Aptheker's *Anti-Racism in U.S. History*. For many years Aptheker was the chief theoretician of the Communist Party, USA, and this new book continues to faithfully reflect his Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history. In the opinion of reviewer Herbert Shapiro of the University of Cincinnati, Aptheker's book

> . . . breaks fresh ground in comprehensively and systematically exploring a theme that has hitherto been ignored or received fragmentary attention. It is certainly to be hoped that Aptheker's work stimulates others to further consideration of this vital aspect of the struggle for democracy in American history.

Finally, this same issue of *The Journal of American History* includes a laudatory review of a *comic book*. While such a work would normally not merit attention in this quarterly, this is no ordinary cartoonist's work. It's *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*, Parts I and II, a Holocaust "oral history account" by Art Spiegelman that has received gushing praise from countless American newspapers and magazines.

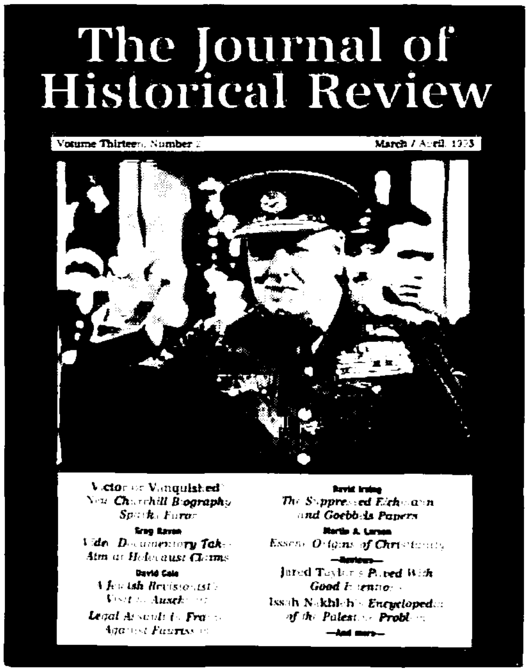
In his *Journal of American History* review, Joshua Brown of Hunter College (CUNY), writes: "*Maus* is a significant contribution to the field of history, not in spite of the medium chosen by its author, but because of it." In Brown's opinion, cartoonist Spiegelman's depiction of Jews as mice, Germans as cats, and Poles as pigs "subvert the stereotypes of racism constructed by the Nazis"!

Besides its implicitly contemptuous portrayal of non-Jewish humanity, this utterly subjective and impressionistic work is littered with historical falsehood and distortion. For example, a *Maus* character arriving at Auschwitz solemnly informs the reader:

> And we came here to the concentration camp Auschwitz, And we knew that from here we will not come out anymore. We knew the stories — that they will gas us and throw us in the ovens. This was 1944. . . . We knew everything. And here we were. . . . So it was.

Among the numerous Jews who did, in fact, "come out" of Auschwitz were — to name just a prominent few — Elie Wiesel (and his father), Anne Frank (who died of typhus later in Bergen-Belsen camp), and Otto Frank (her father).

Moreover, *Maus*, Part I, begins with a quotation attributed to Hitler: "The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but they are not human." The quote is, in fact, spurious. But hey, who's checking? Certainly



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not the reviewer or OAH *Journal* editors.

As this review shows (once again), the normal standards of historical evidence and criticism are simply tossed aside when it comes to the secular pseudo-religion of our era.

In light of such "scholarship," any OAH criticism of the IHR is not only ludicrous, but serves to underscore a clear double standard.

In the field of history — no less than with clothing styles and musical tastes — the more fashionable anything is, the more quickly it is destined to become unfashionable. Ten years from now — if not sooner — historians will look back on the OAH of 1993 with a mixture of amusement, irritation and disgust.

Organization of American Historians Censors the IHR

On October 31, 1992, the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) formally condemned the Institute for Historical Review and resolved to exclude "advertisements or announcements" from the IHR in the *OAH Newsletter.*

For some years now, the Institute has been a member of the OAH, the leading organization of scholars devoted to American history. In 1991, the IHR submitted a short notice for publication in the "calls for papers" section of the *OAH Newsletter.* Appearing in the November 1991 issue, the notice informed readers that the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* welcomed contributions on topics such as FDR's campaign to get the US into war, and the background to the Pearl Harbor attack.

This small notice upset some *OAH Newsletter* readers, and touched off a debate among historians around the country. Letters protesting the notice appeared in the May 1992 *OAH Newsletter*, including a particularly vicious one by Jordan Schwarz, who asserted that the IHR is a "Nazi" or "pro-Nazi" organization with a "mission of hate."

A letter by *Journal* editor Mark Weber responding to these false allegations was rejected. Not a single word in defense of the IHR and its work been has so far been permitted to appear in the pages of the *OAH Newsletter.*

Then, on October 31, the OAH Executive Board resolved to prohibit any future notice or advertisement by the IHR. A minority of Board members argued against the decision, saying that it violated the OAH's stated support for the principle of freedom of speech and inquiry. The Board has five officers, including President Lawrence W. Levine of the University of California, Berkeley. A formal statement of the OAH Board's October decision appeared in the February 1993 *OAH Newsletter.*

In the same issue also appeared a full-page article, "Revisionism and the Holocaust," which reported on a heated panel discussion at a Holocaust conference in April 1992 at Millersville University (Pennsylvania). David Oshinsky of Rutgers University, one of the principal speakers at the meeting of about 150 persons, argued that advertisements and notices by associations such as the IHR and the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) should be rejected out of hand by academic and student publications. Revisionist statements are "irresponsible" and "intentionally hurtful and fallacious" in content, he said. By providing a forum for a "cadre of distortionists . . . you open up the path to a kind of legitimacy." The panel's other main speaker, Samuel Walker of the University of Nebraska-Omaha, disagreed, saying that the principle of free speech should be upheld even in this case. Throughout this *OAH Newsletter* article, revisionist views were repeatedly and simplistically referred to as "denying the Holocaust."

In a letter dated February 24, the IHR responded to the OAH Board's October decision. Not until May 7, however, was the IHR informed that "the OAH has decided not publish" the letter.

The full text of the IHR's February 24 letter follows:

OAH Newsletter
Organization of American Historians
112 North Bryan Street
Bloomington, IN 47408

The October 31 decision by the OAH Executive Board to exclude "advertisements or announcements" from the Institute for Historical Review is "political correctness" at its hypocritical worst.

According to the Board's formal statement (published in the February *OAH Newsletter*), the ostensible basis for this decision is that an advertisement or notice from the IHR would not be "consonant with the purposes of the Organization." However, no explanation is given of precisely how an IHR advertisement is not "consonant" with the OAH's purposes.

That *any* IHR advertisement or notice is prohibited *beforehand* — regardless of content — is particularly disturbing. This decision presumably forbids an IHR advertisement for our edition of Arthur Ponsonby's classic study of First World War propaganda, *Falsehood in Wartime*, or for our edition of collected writings by the eminent American historian and sociologist Harry Elmer Barnes, or even for one of the many books we distribute that are published by prominent "mainstream" publishers.

It is ironic indeed that an advertisement by International Publishers appears in the very issue of the *OAH Newsletter* that informs readers of the decision to forbid *any* advertisement from the IHR. Operating for years as the publishing arm of the Communist Party USA, this Marxist-Leninist enterprise has offered, among other writings, works by Stalin and Mao Zedong. Presumably this *OAH Newsletter* ad offering the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, along with other "Marxist Classics," is "consonant with the purposes" of the OAH.

Perhaps the most remarkable sentence of the OAH statement is this: "We [members of the OAH Executive Board] all abhor, on both moral and scholarly grounds, the substantive arguments of the Institute for Historical Review."

Since when has the OAH been pronouncing on the *moral* validity of *arguments*? Is this a unique pronouncement, or — to be fair and consistent — can we look forward to similar OAH declarations on the *moral* fitness of arguments by other organizations, publishers or even individual scholars? And precisely what is the Board's "moral" yardstick?

Nowhere is it given.

As for "scholarly grounds": anyone who rejects arguments on this basis should be willing and able to support his/her view with logic and evidence.

Precisely which of the IHR's "substantive arguments" did the OAH Executive Board find so abhorrent? All of them? Some of them? Not a single one is specifically mentioned. How about the IHR's often-repeated "arguments" in favor of international peace and understanding? Or the IHR's staunch support for freedom of speech and expression?

"We all reject their claims to be taken seriously as historians," the OAH Executive Board statement goes on. Just who are "they"? Did the OAH Executive Board evaluate each and every *Journal* contributor or IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member to determine if he or she is a "serious" historian? And on what basis?

By any reasonable standard, at least some IHR *Journal* contributors and IHR Committee members are serious and qualified historians.

As for myself, I hold a Master's degree in European history from Indiana University (Bloomington) [where the OAH offices are located]. On March 22, 1988, Toronto District Court Judge Ron Thomas ruled on my qualifications as a historian. After carefully considering arguments for and against recognizing me as a credible historian, he decided to permit me to testify (for five days, as it turned out) as a qualified specialist of wartime Germany's "final solution" policy and the Holocaust issue.

While OAH Executive Board members take care to explicitly affirm "the importance of defending free speech," they have flunked a practical test of their support for this principle. We urge the OAH Executive Board to courageously re-consider a decision that, I am convinced, will one day be regarded with shame and embarrassment.

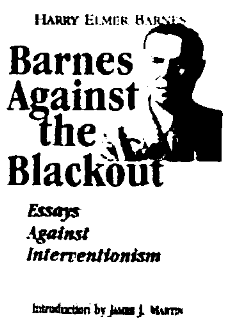
Sincerely,

Mark Weber
Editor, *The Journal of Historical Review*
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, Calif.

BARNES AGAINST THE BLACKOUT

Essays Against Interventionism

With an introduction by James J. Martin


HARRY ELMER BARNES
Barnes Against the Blackout
Essays Against Interventionism
Introduction by JAMES J. MARTIN

American intellectual giant Harry Elmer Barnes —historian, sociologist, criminologist, journalist, and controversialist without peer—was, for over half a century, our country's leading voice for avoiding unnecessary wars through objective study of their causes. A pioneer in the Revisionist school of history, Barnes evaded the snares by which "conservatives" and "liberals" alike have been lured into fighting one costly war, "conflict" or "police action" after another during this century. A bolt of lightning against the Establishment's historical blackout, Barnes had the courage to find and reveal the *facts* on how our government lied us into two world wars once upon a time when almost all Americans trusted their leaders, and his and was a prescient voice in the wilderness against our involvement in the Korean and Vietnam quagmires.

These nine classic essays are Barnes at his best. Informed, passionate, more relevant than ever, they show how the twentieth century's equivalent of the corrupt court historians of despots past erected a glittering facade of lies to hide the hollowness of America's "victories" in the two world wars, then used the false arguments that got us into those wars to inflict a post-1945 "perpetual war for perpetual peace" warfare state on three generations of Americans who have come of age since.

As current as today's headlines, *Barnes Against the Blackout* is must reading for every American concerned to keep our country strong, free, and at peace.

Softcover, 376 pp., index, $13.95 + $2.50 shipping from Institute for Historical Review.

New Revisionist Books in Europe

In **Italy**, two new books by that country's foremost Revisionist researcher, Carlo Mattogno, have been published.

Auschwitz: La Prima Gasazione ("Auschwitz: The First Gassings") is an illustrated work with extensive reference notes and a good bibliography. This handsome 190-page paperback covers some of the same ground as Mattogno's presentation at the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), "The First Gassing at Auschwitz" (published in the Summer 1989 *Journal of Historical Review*).

In *La Soluzione Finale: Probleme e polemiche* ("The Final Solution: Problems and Polemics"), an attractive 215-page paperback, Mattogno cites numerous German wartime documents that are routinely suppressed or ignored by establishment historians to demonstrate conclusively that the "final solution" referred to a policy of forced emigration and deportation — not extermination.

A three-page article in the mass-circulation Italian illustrated magazine *L'Espresso*, May 27, 1990 — reprinted in *La Soluzione Finale* — reports on the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism in Italy and around the world. The work of the Institute for Historical Review is discussed at some length in the article, which is accompanied with a photograph of "the revisionist historian Carlo Mattogno."

Mattogno's two new books are published by Edizioni di Ar, and are available from: Libreria Ar, Via F. La Francesca 26, 84100 Salerno, Italy.

From **Switzerland** comes *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand: Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesetze* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature"). This new 112-page softcover book provides a well organized and up-to-date introduction to the Holocaust issue from a Revisionist perspective.

Written by Jürgen Graf, who was born in Switzerland in 1951, it includes an introduction by Swiss Revisionist researcher and activist Arthur Vogt. *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* is available from the publisher: Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.

In **Ireland**, a new book that takes a Revisionist view of the Second World War, including the Holocaust extermination story, has come under fire. The Irish-language work by Róisín Ní Mheara, *Cé hí seo amuigh?* ("Who's Outside?"), was published in January by Coisceim. (*Sunday Tribune*, Dublin, Jan. 31, 1993.)

Among other things, the book characterizes reports of mass extermination in German concentration camps as "fantasies," and maintains that deaths in at least one camp were caused by typhus, which also claimed the lives of German camp personnel. Ireland's Equality Minister Mervyn Taylor, who is Jewish, has sharply criticized the work.

The book's publisher, Padraig O'Snodaigh, staunchly defends the work, calling it "a marvellous historical document." He says: "It gives an excellent insight into the English ruling class during the Second World War, and indicates how many of them accepted what was going on in Germany before the war. I don't like the lady who wrote the book, and I dislike some of the things that she says. But I am not going to get involved in the censorship of a book."

The book's author is now in her 70s. The daughter of Irish parents, Róisín Ní Mheara was adopted into the English aristocracy when she was two years old. As she grew older, she developed an abiding antipathy for the English, and during the 1930s moved to Germany, where she worked for German propagandists during the war.

Saying that the public only knows one side of what happened during the war, Ní Mheara is urging readers to be "wise and unbiased" in making up their minds.

From **Germany** come books by IHR editorial advisor (and 1986 IHR Conference speaker) Dr. Georg Franz-Willing. *Kriegsschuldfrage der beiden Weltkriege* ("War Guilt Question of the Two World Wars") was published in 1992 by Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte/ Archiv der Zeit (Rosenheim). This 200-page illustrated hardcover work favorably cites numerous works published by the IHR. In 1991 this same publisher issued *Roosevelt und Churchill*, a 270-page hardcover work of political biography co-authored by Dr. Franz-Willing and Adolf von Thadden.

Franz-Willing is also the author of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Bundesrepublikanischer Nationalmasochismus* ("Coming to Grips with the Past: Federal German National Masochism"), a 253-page hardcover book published in 1992 by Nation Europa Verlag of Coburg. This is a companion to his book *Umerziehung* ("Reeducation"), which was reviewed in the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.

"Christmas is the time when kids tell Santa what they want and adults pay for it. Deficits are when adults tell the government what they want — and the kids pay for it."

— Richard Lamm

Political Leader Punished

German Sentenced for Translating Leuchter Address

Günter Deckert, leader of a small German nationalist political party, has been punished by a German court for serving as interpreter at a lecture by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter.

On November 13, 1992, a court in Mannheim found Deckert guilty of "popular incitement," defamation of the memory of the (Jewish) dead, and incitement to hatred. The court ordered Deckert to pay a fine of 10,000 marks (about $6,000), and sentenced him to one year imprisonment (suspended for four years).

Deckert, 52, is federal chairman of the National Democratic Party (NPD), and is an elected official of the local community council of his home town of Weinheim (near Heidelberg).

Günter Deckert

As in similar recent German "Holocaust" cases, the court refused to accept any evidence by the defense to show that what the defendant had said (or, in this case, translated) was true, declaring that the question of extermination gas chambers is an "obvious" fact. During the trial, prosecuting attorney Klein called Leuchter's findings "garbage."

In the Fall 1992 presentation translated by Deckert, Leuchter reported on his forensic examination of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, and explained his conclusion that these structures could never have been used to kill people as claimed.

As the trial began, Deckert said: "The verdict has already been decided. This is a purely political show trial."

Following the verdict, he commented: "Scholars in all countries must now acknowledge that historical research in Germany is not free. Even the presentation of new insights and sources is treated as an act of personal defamation." For the first time in Germany, even to translate such evidence about contemporary history is punishable as a crime, he added.

Deckert — who is respected even by adversaries for his sharp tongue and keen wit — vows to continue the struggle. "After all," he says, "the earth is not flat."

The verdict is being appealed.

Getting Out The Word

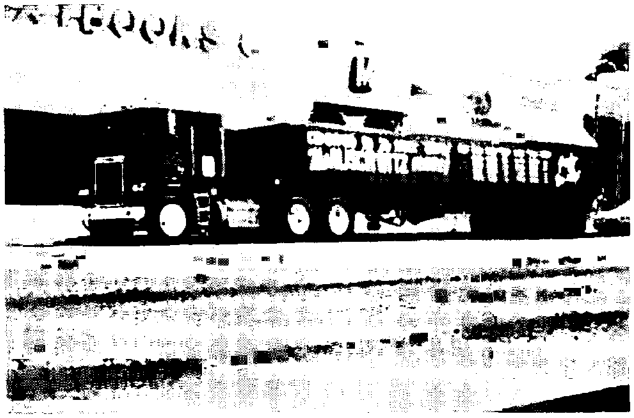
Revisionist Activism

Truck's Message Alerts People in Austin

Using his 40-foot-long semi-truck, revisionist activist Rolf Hermes alerted people in Austin, Texas, of the exact times when the David Cole's Piper video would be broadcast there on local public access cable television. No one could fail to see the announcements boldly lettered on the truck's sides.

For up to two hours daily (March 29 through April 2), Rolf drove his truck around the campus of the University of Texas at Austin, and in the center of the city. While it was parked, he and his daughter and a friend passed out hundreds of leaflets.

The student newspaper declined to publish an announcement about the broadcast of the Cole/Piper video. (For more this, see the March-April *Journal*, pp. 17-20.) However, a notice headlined "Auschwitz: A New Look At An Old Story," giving broadcast times did appear March 28 in the Austin city daily *American-Statesman.*



"CENSORED BY THE DAILY TEXAN! THE AUSCHWITZ DEBATE! SEE IT ON CABLE 'PUBLIC ACCESS' TELEVISION. JUDGE FOR YOURSELF!" With this bold message painted on his 40-foot-long truck, IHR supporter Rolf Hermes informs people in Austin of the exact times when Cole's video is aired on local cable television. For up to two hours daily, Rolf drove his truck around the campus of the University of Texas, and in the center of the city. While it was parked (here in front of the "Texas Textbooks" bookstore), he and his daughter and a friend passed out leaflets.

Ads Placed

IHR supporters in South Carolina and Texas arranged for publication in their local papers of a full-page advertisement on "The 'Human Soap' Holocaust Myth." Prepared in cooperation with the IHR by the Committee for Open Debate on the

Holocaust, the ad includes a condensed version of a fully-referenced article that originally appeared in the Summer 1991 *Journal*.

The advertisement appeared as a public service in the June 24, 1992, issue of *The North Charleston News*, a South Carolina weekly. And in eastern Texas, IHR supporter Bill McKinney arranged for its publication (with the headline in red) in the local *Treasure Chest Shopper's Guide*.

(A facsimile of the ad appears in the May 1992 *IHR Newsletter*. Readers interested in arranging for publication of it in their local daily, weekly, community or association paper, should contact the IHR for details.)

High School Appearance

Journal editor Mark Weber addressed a seniors' honors class at Mission Viejo High School (Orange County, Calif.) on March 23. He was invited to speak to the packed classroom of about 80 students (and three teachers) on the subject of how history is written and interpreted, and on Holocaust Revisionism. Several students were writing papers for the class on this subject.

Giving numerous examples, Weber explained that in America today, as throughout the ages, the generally accepted view of history reflects the interests and ideals of the prevailing social-economic and political forces. During most of the presentation, which lasted about an hour and a half, he spoke about the Holocaust story. During the lively question and answer period, he responded to often skeptical but consistently thoughtful questions.

Appreciation for his appearance was expressed by several of the students, and by the teacher. This was Weber's second appearance as a guest speaker there. He addressed a similar class at the high school in February 1992.

Special Anti-Holocaust Tabloid Sets Record

A record 380,000 copies of a special anti-Holocaust edition of *The Truth at Last*, a feisty Georgia tabloid, have been distributed. In December, individuals and groups around the country joined in a campaign to distribute copies of the special four-page issue (No. 360), which is designed for mass distribution. The press run for this issue is by far the largest ever, says editor-publisher Dr. Ed

Fred Leuchter Needs Our Help

When Fred Leuchter testified in 1988 on the results of his history-making on-site examination of the supposed extermination "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, he knew what the stakes were. He knew that the powerful Holocaust lobby would try to punish him for his heresy. Nevertheless, he chose to stand by his findings. In a dramatic court case, America's foremost expert on execution gas chamber technology declared under oath that these facilities were never used to kill people as alleged, and could not possibly have functioned as claimed.

The path-breaking *Leuchter Report*, which details his forensic examination, has struck a mighty blow against the core of the Holocaust extermination story, and the campaign to impose an artificial sense of guilt on ourselves and generations to come. Now widely available in all major languages, the *Report*'s key findings have since been authoritatively corroborated by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (Poland), by leading Austrian engineer Walter Lueftl, and by German engineer Germar Rudolf, among others.

It wasn't long before the international Holocaust lobby, spearheaded by the notorious Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, mounted a vicious campaign to blacken Leuchter's reputation, and destroy his career. The most insidious effort has been a behind-the-scenes campaign to destroy his livelihood by pressuring state governments to stop employing him as their execution hardware engineer. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)

Unfortunately, this campaign has been successful.

Fred must now support himself and his wife as a telephone solicitor.

No American has suffered more at the hands of the vengeful Holocaust lobby than Fred Leuchter. In spite of everything, though, he remains defiant:

> I have been vilified by the caretakers of the Holocaust dogma whose desperate tactics prove the failure of their arguments. My livelihood has been destroyed, my character has been impugned and my life turned upside down. But I will not bend the knee: Not now, not tomorrow, not ever. Time and reason will vindicate the Leuchter Report.

Now, after risking, enduring and achieving so much, Fred Leuchter needs our help: to carry on the legal fight against the Klarsfelds and their allies, to continue the work for revisionism, to support himself and his family.

By your generous support, show Fred that we revisionists refuse to forget his accomplishments and sacrifices, that we stand by our friends, and that we will not concede victory to the Holocaust lobby.

Please send your personal contribution to:

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

178 Washington St., Malden, MA 02148

Fields. This special issue continues to sell well, he reports.

Radio Talk Show Appearances

IHR editor Weber appeared last August and September as a guest on three radio talk shows, including stations in New Orleans, southern Michigan, and with host Tom Valentine on "Radio Free America," which is heard across the United States.

Libertarian Forum Address

Mark Weber appeared as the featured speaker at the April 6 session of the Nock Forum, a Los Angeles-area libertarian group, where he spoke about the Holocaust and the Nuremberg Trials.

Cole on Radio

David Cole appeared March 29 as a guest on the Morton Downey radio talk show, which is based in Dallas, Texas, but airs across the county on syndication. During the hour-long, one-on-one broadcast session, Downey was uncharacteristically respectful and non-combative.

That same day, the young Jewish Holocaust revisionist (who addressed the October 1992 IHR Conference) was also guest on "About Town," a Dallas-area half-hour local television program. The host, Jo Shannon Baldwin, was respectful.

Leaflet Distributions

On January 20, Indiana activist Jack Riner passed out 1,200 IHR leaflets to students in front of the student union building at Indiana State University, Terre Haute. Although he has had trouble on one or two occasions in previous years, Riner reports, "this time a campus cop told me I can pass out any kind of literature I wish." A few weeks earlier, he passed out another 1,200 IHR leaflets on the campus of Bowling Green State University in Ohio.

Utah State University Lecture Cancelled

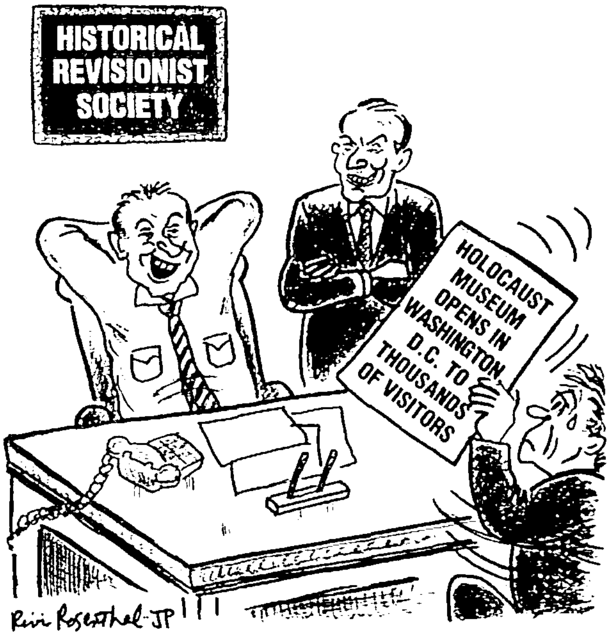
Just three days before it was scheduled to take place, a lecture by *Journal* editor Mark Weber at Utah State University (Logan) was cancelled by the group that had invited him. The school's International Student Council had accepted a proposal, made by a graduate economics student from India, to invite Weber to address a "Scholar's Forum" on Thursday, February 18.

At an emergency meeting on the 15th, members of the school's history department made outrageously false and alarmist claims that helped persuade the Council to cancel the scheduled event. History professor Leonard Rosenband told the Council that IHR director Tom Marcellus was the person who had ordered the well-publicized skinhead killing in Portland, Oregon, of an Ethiopian immigrant. When the India-born graduate student pointed out that Rosenband was in fact talking about Tom Metzger, another person entirely, Rosenband shot back that the two are the same.

One Council member was so disgusted by the unfair decision to cancel Weber's lecture that he resigned from the body.

An essentially accurate and even-handed report on the Council meeting appeared in the *Utah Statesman*, Feb. 17, along with an editorial that concluded:

> Why not let Weber come and speak in a debate forum with professors or other experts who disagree with Weber's views? This would surely be preferable to discrediting Weber and his group in a private meeting without letting him speak in his own defense.


HISTORICAL REVISIONIST SOCIETY
HOLOCAUST MUSEUM OPENS IN WASHINGTON D.C. TO THOUSANDS OF VISITORS

"Don't worry — within time, people will forget all about the so-called 'Holocaust'!"

This childish cartoon appeared in the May 7 *Jewish Press* of Brooklyn, New York. The *Press* calls itself "the largest independent Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper." In recent months Holocaust Revisionism has received more media attention than ever, much of it on this level.

"The man who fights for his ideals is the man who is alive."

—Miguel de Cervantes

Zionism and the Third Reich

MARK WEBER

Early in 1935, a passenger ship bound for Haifa in Palestine left the German port of Bremerhaven. Its stern bore the Hebrew letters for its name, "Tel Aviv," while a swastika banner fluttered from the mast. And although the ship was Zionist-owned, its captain was a National Socialist Party member. Many years later a traveler aboard the ship recalled this symbolic combination as a "metaphysical absurdity."[1] Absurd or not, this is but one vignette from a little-known chapter of history: The wide-ranging collaboration between Zionism and Hitler's Third Reich.

Common Aims

Over the years, people in many different countries have wrestled with the "Jewish question": that is, what is the proper role of Jews in non-Jewish society? During the 1930s, Jewish Zionists and German National Socialists shared similar views on how to deal with this perplexing issue. They agreed that Jews and Germans were distinctly different nationalities, and that Jews did not belong in Germany. Jews living in the Reich were therefore to be regarded not as "Germans of the Jewish faith," but rather as members of a separate national community. Zionism (Jewish nationalism) also implied an obligation by Zionist Jews to resettle in Palestine, the "Jewish homeland." They could hardly regard themselves as sincere Zionists and simultaneously claim equal rights in Germany or any other "foreign" country.

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the founder of modern Zionism, maintained that anti-Semitism is not an aberration, but a natural and completely understandable response by non-Jews to alien Jewish behavior and attitudes. The only solution, he argued, is for Jews to recognize reality and live in a separate state of their own. "The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in noticeable numbers," he wrote in his most influential work, *The Jewish State*. "Where it does not exist, it is brought in by arriving Jews. . . . I believe I understand anti-Semitism, which is a very complex phenomenon. I consider this development as a Jew, without hate or fear." The Jewish question, he maintained, is not social or religious. "It is a national question. To solve it we must, above all, make it an international political issue. . . ." Regardless of their citizenship, Herzl insisted, Jews constitute not merely a religious community, but a nationality, a people, a *Volk*.[2] Zionism, wrote Herzl, offered the world a welcome "final solution of the Jewish question."[3]

Six months after Hitler came to power, the Zionist Federation of Germany (by far the largest Zionist group in the country) submitted a detailed memorandum to the new government that reviewed German-Jewish relations and formally offered Zionist support in "solving" the vexing "Jewish question." The first step, it suggested, had to be a frank recognition of fundamental national differences:[4]

> Zionism has no illusions about the difficulty of the Jewish condition, which consists above all in an abnormal occupational pattern and in the fault of an intellectual and moral posture not rooted in one's own tradition. Zionism recognized decades ago that as a result of the assimilationist trend, symptoms of deterioration were bound to appear . . .
>
> Zionism believes that the rebirth of the national life of a people, which is now occurring in Germany through the emphasis on its Christian and national character, must also come about in the Jewish national group. For the Jewish people, too, national origin, religion, common destiny and a sense of its uniqueness must be of decisive importance in the shaping of its existence. This means that the egotistical individualism of the liberal era must be overcome and replaced with a sense of community and collective responsibility . . .
>
> We believe it is precisely the new [National Socialist] Germany that can, through bold resoluteness in the handling of the Jewish question, take a decisive step toward overcoming a problem which, in truth, will have to be dealt with by most European peoples . . .
>
> Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group and reject any trespasses in the cultural domain, we — having been brought up in the German language and German culture — can show an interest in the works and values of German culture with admiration and internal sympathy . . .
>
> For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration of even a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question not sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples and at the present moment especially the German people . . .
>
> Boycott propaganda — such as is currently

> being carried on against Germany in many ways — is in essence un-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and to build . . .
>
> We are not blind to the fact that a Jewish question exists and will continue to exist. From the abnormal situation of the Jews severe disadvantages result for them, but also scarcely tolerable conditions for other peoples.

The Federation's paper, the *Jüdische Rundschau* ("Jewish Review"), proclaimed the same message: "Zionism recognizes the existence of a Jewish problem and desires a far-reaching and constructive solution. For this purpose Zionism wishes to obtain the assistance of all peoples, whether pro- or anti-Jewish, because, in its view, we are dealing here with a concrete rather than a sentimental problem, the solution of which all peoples are interested."[5] A young Berlin rabbi, Joachim Prinz, who later settled in the United States and became head of the American Jewish Congress, wrote in his 1934 book, *Wir Juden* ("We Jews"), that the National Socialist revolution in Germany meant "Jewry for the Jews." He explained: "No subterfuge can save us now. In place of assimilation we desire a new concept: recognition of the Jewish nation and Jewish race."[6]

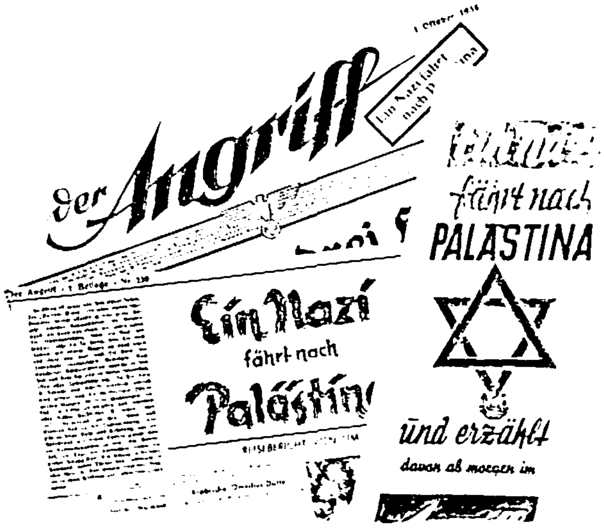
Active Collaboration

On this basis of their similar ideologies about ethnicity and nationhood, National Socialists and Zionists worked together for what each group believed was in its own national interest. As a result, the Hitler government vigorously supported Zionism and Jewish emigration to Palestine from 1933 until 1940-1941, when the Second World War prevented extensive collaboration.

Even as the Third Reich became more entrenched, many German Jews, probably a majority, continued to regard themselves, often with considerable pride, as Germans first. Few were enthusiastic about pulling up roots to begin a new life in far-away Palestine. Nevertheless, more and more German Jews turned to Zionism during this period. Until late 1938, the Zionist movement flourished in Germany under Hitler. The circulation of the Zionist Federation's bi-weekly *Jüdische Rundschau* grew enormously. Numerous Zionist books were published. "Zionist work was in full swing" in Germany during those years, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* notes. A Zionist convention held in Berlin in 1936 reflected "in its composition the vigorous party life of German Zionists."[7]

The SS was particularly enthusiastic in its support for Zionism. An internal June 1934 SS position paper urged active and wide-ranging support for Zionism by the government and the Party as the best way to encourage emigration of Germany's Jews to Palestine. This would require increased Jewish self-awareness. Jewish schools, Jewish sports leagues, Jewish cultural organizations — in short, everything that would encourage this new consciousness and self-awareness — should be promoted, the paper recommended.[8]

SS officer Leopold von Mildenstein and Zionist Federation official Kurt Tuchler toured Palestine together for six months to assess Zionist development there. Based on his firsthand observations, von Mildenstein wrote a series of twelve illustrated articles for the important Berlin daily *Der Angriff* that appeared in late 1934 under the heading "A Nazi Travels to Palestine." The series expressed great admiration for the pioneering spirit and achievements of the Jewish settlers. Zionist self-development, von Mildenstein wrote, had produced a new kind of Jew. He praised Zionism as a great benefit for both the Jewish people and the entire world. A Jewish homeland in Palestine, he wrote in his concluding article, "pointed the way to curing a centuries-long wound on the body of the world: the Jewish question." *Der Angriff* issued a special medal, with a Swastika on one side and a Star of David on the other, to commemorate the joint SS-Zionist visit. A few months after the articles appeared, von Mildenstein was promoted to head the Jewish affairs department of the SS security service in order to support Zionist migration and development more effectively.[9]



"A Nazi travels to Palestine," a series of articles in the Berlin newspaper *Der Angriff*, reported enthusiastically on the 1934 visit to Palestine by a high-ranking SS officer and an official of the Zionist Federaton of Germany.

The official SS newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, proclaimed its support for Zionism in a May 1935 front-page editorial: "The time may not be too far off when Palestine will again be able to receive its sons who have been lost to it for more than a thousand years. Our good wishes, together with official goodwill, go with them."[10] Four months later, a similar article appeared in the SS paper:[11]

> The recognition of Jewry as a racial community based on blood and not on religion leads the German government to guarantee without reservation the racial separateness of this community. The government finds itself in complete agreement with the great spiritual movement within Jewry, the so-called Zionism, with its recognition of the solidarity of Jewry around the world and its rejection of all assimilationist notions. On this basis, Germany undertakes measures that will surely play a significant role in the future in the handling of the Jewish problem around the world.

A leading German shipping line began direct passenger liner service from Hamburg to Haifa, Palestine, in October 1933 providing "strictly kosher food on its ships, under the supervision of the Hamburg rabbinate."[12]

With official backing, Zionists worked tirelessly to "reeducate" Germany's Jews. As American historian Francis Nicosia put it in his 1985 survey, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*: "Zionists were encouraged to take their message to the Jewish community, to collect money, to show films on Palestine and generally to educate German Jews about Palestine. There was considerable pressure to teach Jews in Germany to cease identifying themselves as Germans and to awaken a new Jewish national identity in them."[13]

In an interview after the war, the former head of the Zionist Federation of Germany, Dr. Hans Friedenthal, summed up the situation: "The Gestapo did everything in those days to promote emigration, particularly to Palestine. We often received their help when we required anything from other authorities regarding preparations for emigration."[14]

At the September 1935 National Socialist Party Congress, the Reichstag adopted the so-called "Nuremberg laws" that prohibited marriages and sexual relations between Jews and Germans and, in effect, proclaimed the Jews an alien minority nationality. A few days later the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* editorially welcomed the new measures:[15]

> Germany . . . is meeting the demands of the World Zionist Congress when it declares the Jews now living in Germany to be a national minority. Once the Jews have been stamped a national minority it is again possible to establish normal relations between the German nation and Jewry. The new laws give the Jewish minority in Germany its own cultural life, its own national life. In future it will be able to shape its own schools, its own theatre, and its own sports associations. In short, it can create its own future in all aspects of national life . . .
>
> Germany has given the Jewish minority the opportunity to live for itself, and is offering state protection for this separate life of the Jewish minority: Jewry's process of growth into a nation will thereby be encouraged and a contribution will be made to the establishment of more tolerable relations between the two nations.

Georg Kareski, the head of both the "Revisionist" Zionist State Organization and the Jewish Cultural League, and former head of the Berlin Jewish Community, declared in an interview with the Berlin daily *Der Angriff* at the end of 1935:[16]

> For many years I have regarded a complete separation of the cultural affairs of the two peoples [Jews and Germans] as a pre-condition for living together without conflict. . . . I have long supported such a separation, provided it is founded on respect for the alien nationality. The Nuremberg Laws . . . seem to me, apart from their legal provisions, to conform entirely with this desire for a separate life based on mutual respect. . . . This interruption of the process of dissolution in many Jewish communities, which had been promoted through mixed marriages, is therefore, from a Jewish point of view, entirely welcome.

Zionist leaders in other countries echoed these views. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, told a New York rally in June 1938: "I am not an American citizen of the Jewish faith, I am a Jew. . . . Hitler was right in one thing. He calls the Jewish people a race and we are a race."[17]

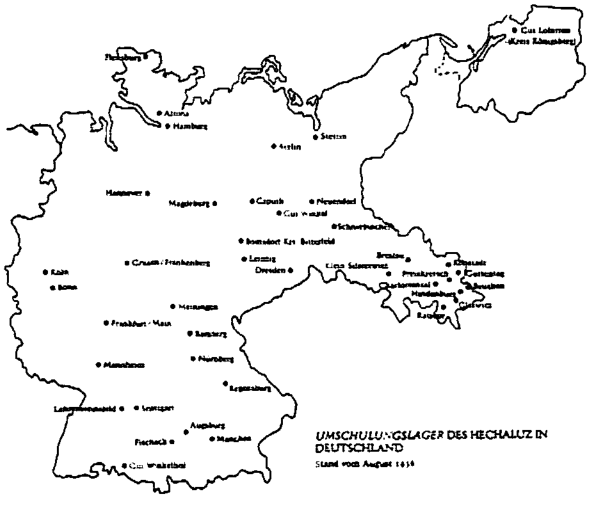
The Interior Ministry's Jewish affairs specialist, Dr. Bernhard Lösener, expressed support for Zionism in an article that appeared in a November 1935 issue of the official *Reichsverwaltungsblatt*:[18]

> If the Jews already had their own state in which the majority of them were settled, then the Jewish question could be regarded as completely resolved today, also for the Jews themselves. The least amount of opposition to the ideas underlying the Nuremberg Laws have been shown by the Zionists, because they realize at once that these laws represent the only correct solution for the Jewish people as well. For each nation must have its own state as the outward expression of its particular nationhood.

In cooperation with the German authorities, Zionist groups organized a network of some forty camps and agricultural centers throughout Germany where prospective settlers were trained for their new lives in Palestine. Although the Nuremberg Laws forbid Jews from displaying the German flag, Jews were specifically guaranteed the right to display the blue and white Jewish national banner. The flag that would one day be adopted by Israel was flown at the Zionist camps and centers in

Hitler's Germany.[19]

Himmler's security service cooperated with the Haganah, the Zionist underground military organization in Palestine. The SS agency paid Haganah official Feivel Polkes for information about the situation in Palestine and for help in directing Jewish emigration to that country. Meanwhile, the Haganah was kept well informed about German plans by a spy it managed to plant in the Berlin headquarters of the SS.[20] Haganah-SS collaboration even included secret deliveries of German weapons to Jewish settlers for use in clashes with Palestinian Arabs.[21]



Zionist retraining camps in Germany, August 1936. There were about 40 such centers throughout Germany, where the Zionist "Hechaluz" organization, with government support, prepared German Jews for new lives in Palestine.

In the aftermath of the November 1938 "Kristallnacht" outburst of violence and destruction, the SS quickly helped the Zionist organization to get back on its feet and continue its work in Germany, although now under more restricted supervision.[22]

Official Reservations

German support for Zionism was not unlimited. Government and Party officials were very mindful of the continuing campaign by powerful Jewish communities in the United States, Britain and other countries to mobilize "their" governments and fellow citizens against Germany. As long as world Jewry remained implacably hostile towards National Socialist Germany, and as long as the great majority of Jews around the world showed little eagerness to resettle in the Zionist "promised land," $a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine would not really "solve" the international Jewish question. Instead, German officials reasoned, it would immeasurably strengthen this dangerous anti-German campaign. German backing for Zionism was therefore limited to support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine under British control, not a sovereign Jewish *state.*[23]

A Jewish state in Palestine, the Foreign Minister informed diplomats in June 1937, would not be in Germany's interest because it would not be able to absorb all Jews around the world, but would only serve as an additional power base for international Jewry, in much the same way as Moscow served as a base for international Communism.[24] Reflecting something of a shift in official policy, the German press expressed much greater sympathy in 1937 for Palestinian Arab resistance to Zionist ambitions, at a time when tension and conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was sharply increasing.[25]

A Foreign Office circular bulletin of June 22, 1937, cautioned that in spite of support for Jewish settlement in Palestine, "it would nevertheless be a mistake to assume that Germany supports the formation of a state structure in Palestine under some form of Jewish control. In view of the anti-German agitation of international Jewry, Germany cannot agree that the formation of a Palestine Jewish state would help the peaceful development of the nations of the world."[26] "The proclamation of a Jewish state or a Jewish-administrated Palestine," warned an internal memorandum by the Jewish affairs section of the SS, "would create for Germany a new enemy, one that would have a deep influence on developments in the Near East." Another SS agency predicted that a Jewish state "would work to bring special minority protection to Jews in every country, therefore giving legal protection to the exploitation activity of world Jewry."[27] In January 1939, Hitler's new Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, likewise warned in another circular bulletin that "Germany must regard the formation of a Jewish state as dangerous" because it "would bring an international increase in power to world Jewry."[28]

Hitler himself personally reviewed this entire issue in early 1938 and, in spite of his long-standing skepticism of Zionist ambitions and misgivings that his policies might contribute to the formation of a Jewish state, decided to support Jewish migration to Palestine even more vigorously. The prospect of ridding Germany of its Jews, he concluded, outweighed the possible dangers.[29]

Meanwhile, the British government imposed ever more drastic restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine in 1937, 1938 and 1939. In response, the SS security service concluded a secret alliance with the clandestine Zionist agency *Mossad le-Aliya Bet* to smuggle Jews illegally into Palestine. As a result of this intensive collaboration, several convoys of ships succeeded in reaching Palestine past British gunboats. Jewish migration, both legal and illegal, from Germany (including Austria) to Palestine increased dramatically in 1938 and 1939. Another 10,000 Jews were scheduled to depart in October 1939, but the outbreak of war in September brought the effort to an end. All the same, German authorities continued to promote indirect Jewish emigration to Palestine during 1940 and 1941.[30] Even as late as March 1942, at least one officially authorized Zionist "kibbutz" training camp for potential emigrants continued to operate in Hitler's Germany.[31]

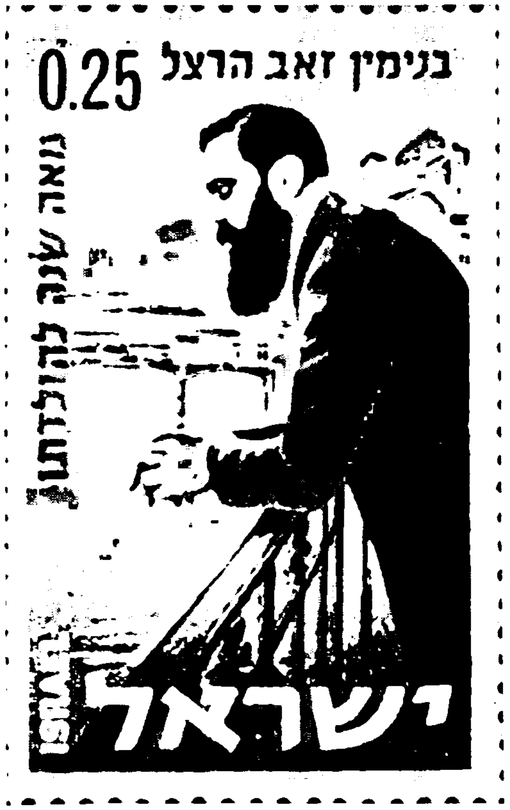
The Transfer Agreement

The centerpiece of German-Zionist cooperation during the Hitler era was the Transfer Agreement, a pact that enabled tens of thousands of German Jews to migrate to Palestine with their wealth. The Agreement, also known as the *Ha'avara* (Hebrew for "transfer"), was concluded in August 1933 following talks between German officials and Chaim Arlosoroff, Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency, the Palestine center of the World Zionist Organization.[32]

Through this unusual arrangement, each Jew bound for Palestine deposited money in a special account in Germany. The money was used to purchase German-made agricultural tools, building materials, pumps, fertilizer, and so forth, which were exported to Palestine and sold there by the Jewish-owned Ha'avara company in Tel-Aviv. Money from the sales was given to the Jewish emigrant upon his arrival in Palestine in an amount corresponding to his deposit in Germany. German goods poured into Palestine through the Ha'avara, which was supplemented a short time later with a barter agreement by which Palestine oranges were exchanged for German timber, automobiles, agricultural machinery, and other goods. The Agreement thus served the Zionist aim of bringing Jewish settlers and development capital to Palestine, while simultaneously serving the German goal of freeing the country of an unwanted alien group.

Delegates at the 1933 Zionist Congress in Prague vigorously debated the merits of the Agreement. Some feared that the pact would undermine the international Jewish economic boycott against Germany. But Zionist officials reassured the Congress. Sam Cohen, a key figure behind the Ha'avara arrangement, stressed that the Agreement was not economically advantageous to Germany. Arthur Ruppin, a Zionist Organization emigration specialist who had helped negotiate the pact, pointed out that "the Transfer Agreement in no way interfered with the boycott movement, since no new currency will flow into Germany as a result of the agreement. . . ."[33] The 1935 Zionist Congress, meeting in Switzerland, overwhelmingly endorsed the pact. In 1936, the Jewish Agency (the Zionist "shadow government" in Palestine) took over direct control of the Ha'avara, which remained in effect until the Second World War forced its abandonment.

Some German officials opposed the arrangement. Germany's Consul General in Jerusalem, Hans Döhle, for example, sharply criticized the Agreement on several occasions during 1937. He pointed out that it cost Germany the foreign exchange that the products exported to Palestine through the pact would bring if sold elsewhere. The Ha'avara monopoly sale of German goods to Palestine through a Jewish agency naturally angered German businessmen and Arabs there. Official German support for Zionism could lead to a loss of German markets throughout the Arab world. The British government also resented the arrangement.[34] A June 1937 German Foreign Office internal bulletin referred to the "foreign exchange sacrifices" that resulted from the Ha'avara.[35]



Postage stamp issued by Israel in 1960 honors Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement.

A December 1937 internal memorandum by the German Interior Ministry reviewed the impact of the Transfer Agreement: "There is no doubt that the Ha'avara arrangement has contributed most significantly to the very rapid development of Palestine since 1933. The Agreement provided not only the largest source of money (from Germany!), but also the most intelligent group of immigrants, and finally it brought to the country the machines and industrial products essential for development." The main advantage of the pact, the memo reported, was the emigration of large numbers of Jews to Palestine, the most desirable target country as far as Germany was concerned. But the paper also noted the important drawbacks pointed out by Consul Döhle and others. The Interior Minister, it went on, had concluded that the disadvantages of the agreement now outweighed the advantages and that, therefore, it should be terminated.[36]

Only one man could resolve the controversy. Hitler personally reviewed the policy in July and September 1937, and again in January 1938, and each time decided to maintain the Ha'avara arrangement. The goal of removing Jews from Germany, he concluded, justified the drawbacks.[37]

The Reich Economics Ministry helped to organize another transfer company, the International Trade and Investment Agency, or Intria, through which Jews in foreign countries could help German Jews emigrate to Palestine. Almost $900,000 was eventually channeled through the Intria to German Jews in Palestine.[38] Other European countries eager to encourage Jewish emigration concluded agreements with the Zionists modeled after the Ha'avara. In 1937 Poland authorized the Halifin (Hebrew for "exchange") transfer company. By late summer 1939, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Italy had signed similar arrangements. The outbreak of war in September 1939, however, prevented large-scale implementation of these agreements.[39]

Achievements of Ha'avara

Between 1933 and 1941, some 60,000 German Jews emigrated to Palestine through the Ha'avara and other German-Zionist arrangements, or about ten percent of Germany's 1933 Jewish population. (These German Jews made up about 15 percent of Palestine's 1939 Jewish population.) Some Ha'avara emigrants transferred considerable personal wealth from Germany to Palestine. As Jewish historian Edwin Black has noted: "Many of these people, especially in the late 1930s, were allowed to transfer actual replicas of their homes and factories — indeed rough replicas of their very existence."[40]

The total amount transferred from Germany to Palestine through the Ha'avara between August 1933 and the end of 1939 was 8.1 million pounds or 139.57 million German marks (then equivalent to more than $40 million). This amount included 33.9 million German marks ($13.8 million) provided by the Reichsbank in connection with the Agreement.[41]

Historian Black has estimated that an additional $70 million may have flowed into Palestine through corollary German commercial agreements and special international banking transactions. The German funds had a major impact on a country as underdeveloped as Palestine was in the 1930s, he pointed out. Several major industrial enterprises were built with the capital from Germany, including the Mekoroth waterworks and the Lodzia textile firm. The influx of Ha'avara goods and capital, concluded Black, "produced an economic explosion in Jewish Palestine" and was "an indispensable factor in the creation of the State of Israel."[42]

The Ha'avara agreement greatly contributed to Jewish development in Palestine and thus, indirectly, to the foundation of the Israeli state. A January 1939 German Foreign Office circular bulletin reported, with some misgiving, that "the transfer of Jewish property out of Germany [through the Ha'avara agreement] contributed to no small extent to the building of a Jewish state in Palestine."[43]

Former officials of the Ha'avara company in Palestine confirmed this view in a detailed study of the Transfer Agreement published in 1972: "The economic activity made possible by the influx German capital and the Haavara transfers to the private and public sectors were of greatest importance for the country's development. Many new industries and commercial enterprises were established in Jewish Palestine, and numerous companies that are enormously important even today in the economy of the State of Israel owe their existence to the Haavara."[44] Dr. Ludwig Pinner, a Ha'avara company official in Tel Aviv during the 1930s, later commented that the exceptionally competent Ha'avara immigrants "decisively contributed" to the economic, social, cultural and educational development of Palestine's Jewish community.[45]

The Transfer Agreement was the most far-reaching example of cooperation between Hitler's Germany and international Zionism. Through this pact, Hitler's Third Reich did more than any other government during the 1930s to support Jewish development in Palestine.

Zionists Offer a Military Alliance With Hitler

In early January 1941 a small but important Zionist organization submitted a formal proposal to German diplomats in Beirut for a military-political alliance with wartime Germany. The offer was made by the radical underground "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel," better known as the *Lehi* or Stern Gang. Its leader, Avraham Stern, had recently broken with the radical nationalist "National Military Organization" (*Irgun Zvai Leumi*) over the group's attitude toward Britain, which had effectively banned further Jewish settlement of Palestine. Stern regarded Britain as the main enemy of Zionism.

This remarkable Zionist proposal "for the solution of the Jewish question in Europe and the active participation of the NMO [Lehi] in the war on the side of Germany" is worth quoting at some length:[46]

> In their speeches and statements, the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany have often emphasized that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite a radical solution of the

Jewish question by evacuation. ("Jew-free Europe")

The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. However, the only way this can be totally achieved is through settlement of these masses in the homeland of the Jewish people, Palestine, and by the establishment of a Jewish state in its historical boundaries.

The goal of the political activity and the years of struggle by the Israel Freedom Movement, the National Military Organization in Palestine (Irgun Zvai Leumi), is to solve the Jewish problem in this way and thus completely liberate the Jewish people forever.

The NMO, which is very familiar with the good will of the German Reich government and its officials towards Zionist activities within Germany and the Zionist emigration program, takes that view that:

1. Common interests can exist between a European New Order based on the German concept and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people as embodied by the NMO.
2. Cooperation is possible between the New Germany and a renewed, folkish-national Jewry [*Hebräertum*].
3. The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of maintaining and strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East.

On the basis of these considerations, and upon the condition that the German Reich government recognize the national aspirations of the Israel Freedom Movement mentioned above, the NMO in Palestine offers to actively take part in the war on the side of Germany.

This offer by the NMO could include military, political and informational activity within Palestine and, after certain organizational measures, outside as well. Along with this the Jewish men of Europe would be militarily trained and organized in military units under the leadership and command of the NMO. They would take part in combat operations for the purpose of conquering Palestine, should such a front by formed.

The indirect participation of the Israel Freedom Movement in the New Order of Europe, already in the preparatory stage, combined with a positive-radical solution of the European Jewish problem on the basis of the national aspirations of the Jewish people mentioned above, would greatly strengthen the moral foundation of the New Order in the eyes of all humanity.

The cooperation of the Israel Freedom Movement would also be consistent with a recent speech by the German Reich Chancellor, in which Hitler stressed that he would utilize any combination and coalition in order to isolate and defeat England.

There is no record of any German response. Acceptance was very unlikely anyway because by this time German policy was decisively pro-Arab.[47] Remarkably, Stern's group sought to conclude a pact with the Third Reich at a time when stories that Hitler was bent on exterminating Jews were already in wide circulation. Stern apparently either did not believe the stories or he was willing to collaborate with the mortal enemy of his people to help bring about a Jewish state.[48]

An important Lehi member at the time the group made this offer was Yitzhak Shamir, who later served as Israel's Foreign Minister and then, during much of the 1980s and until June 1992, as Prime Minister. As Lehi operations chief following Stern's death in 1942, Shamir organized numerous acts of terror, including the November 1944 assassination of British Middle East Minister Lord Moyne and the September 1948 slaying of Swedish United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte. Years later, when Shamir was asked about the 1941 offer, he confirmed that he was aware of his organization's proposed alliance with wartime Germany.[49]

Conclusion

In spite of the basic hostility between the Hitler regime and international Jewry, for several years Jewish Zionist and German National Socialist interests coincided. In collaborating with the Zionists for a mutually desirable and humane solution to a complex problem, the Third Reich was willing to make foreign exchange sacrifices, impair relations with Britain and anger the Arabs. Indeed, during the 1930s no nation did more to substantively further Jewish-Zionist goals than Hitler's Germany.

Notes

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2. Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht"* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), p. 212. See also: Th. Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York: Herzl Press, 1970), pp. 33, 35, 36, and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), p. 73.
3. Th. Herzl, "Der Kongress," *Welt*, June 4, 1897. Reprinted in: *Theodor Herzls zionistische Schriften* (Leon Kellner, ed.), erster Teil, Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920, p. 190 (and p. 139).
4. Memo of June 21, 1933, in: L. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman, 1976), pp. 150-155, and (in part) in: Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1985), p. 42.; On Zionism in Germany before Hitler's assumption of power, see: Donald L. Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge: 1980),

pp. 94-95, 126-131, 140-143.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (Austin: 1985), pp. 1-15.

5. *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin), June 13, 1933. Quoted in: Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (New York: Ballantine, pb., 1971, 1984), pp. 376-377.
6. Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 376.
7. "Berlin," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York & Jerusalem: 1971), Vol. 5, p. 648. For a look at one aspect of this "vigorous life," see: J.-C. Horak, "Zionist Film Propaganda in Nazi Germany," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1984, pp. 49-58.
8. Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 54-55.; Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1970, 1990), pp. 178-181.
9. Jacob Boas, "A Nazi Travels to Palestine," *History Today* (London), January 1980, pp. 33-38.
10. Facsimile reprint of front page of *Das Schwarze Korps*, May 15, 1935, in: Janusz Piekalkiewicz, *Israels Langer Arm* (Frankfurt: Goverts, 1975), pp. 66-67. Also quoted in: Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 377. See also: Erich Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1988), p. 184.
11. *Das Schwarze Korps*, Sept. 26, 1935. Quoted in: F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 56-57.
12. Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 83.
13. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 60. See also: F. Nicosia, "The *Yishuv* and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), Vol. 64, No. 3, Sept. 1992, pp. 533-540.
14. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 57.
15. *Jüdische Rundschau*, Sept. 17, 1935. Quoted in: Yitzhak Arad, with Y. Gutman and A. Margaliot, eds., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 82-83.
16. *Der Angriff*, Dec. 23, 1935, in: E. Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: 1988), p. 148.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 56.; L. Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 138.; A. Margaliot, "The Reaction...," *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem), vol. 12, 1977, pp. 90-91.; On Kareski's remarkable career, see: H. Levine, "A Jewish Collaborator in Nazi Germany," *Central European History* (Atlanta), Sept. 1975, pp. 251-281.
17. "Dr. Wise Urges Jews to Declare Selves as Such," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1938, p. 12.
18. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), p. 53.
19. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, 1933-1945 (New York: Bantam, pb., 1976), pp. 253-254.; Max Nussbaum, "Zionism Under Hitler," *Congress Weekly* (New York: American Jewish Congress), Sept. 11, 1942.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), pp. 58-60, 217.; Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), p. 175.
20. H. Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, pb., 1984), pp. 380-382.; K. Schleunes, *Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 226.; Secret internal SS intelligence report about F. Polkes, June 17, 1937, in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 5, pp. 62-64.
21. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 63-64, 105, 219-220.
22. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 160.
23. This distinction is also implicit in the "Balfour Declaration" of November 1917, in which the British government expressed support for "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, while carefully avoiding any mention of a Jewish *state*. Referring to the majority Arab population there, the Declaration went on to caution, "...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The complete text of the Declaration is reproduced in facsimile in: Robert John, *Behind the Balfour Declaration* (IHR, 1988), p. 32.
24. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 121.
25. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 124.
26. David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Bar-Ilan University, Israel, 1974), p. 300.; Also in: *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. 5. Doc. No. 564 or 567.
27. K. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 209.
28. Circular of January 25, 1939. Nuremberg document 3358-PS. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), vol. 32, pp. 242-243. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, DC: 1946-1948), vol. 6, pp. 92-93.
29. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 141-144.; On Hitler's critical view of Zionism in *Mein Kampf*, see esp. Vol. 1, Chap. 11. Quoted in: Robert Wistrich, *Hitler's Apocalypse* (London: 1985), p. 155.; See also: F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 26-28.; Hitler told his army adjutant in 1939 and again in 1941 that he had asked the British in 1937 about transferring all of Germany's Jews to Palestine or Egypt. The British rejected the proposal, he said, because it would cause further disorder. See: H. v. Kotze, ed., *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler* (Stuttgart: 1974), pp. 65, 95.
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31. Y. Arad, et al., eds., *Documents On the Holocaust* (1981), p. 155. (The training kibbutz was at Neuendorf, and may have functioned even after March 1942.)

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33. E. Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), pp. 328, 337.
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44. Werner Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972). Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), pp. 222-223.
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47. Arab nationalists opposed Britain, which then dominated much of the Arab world, including Egypt, Iraq and Palestine. Because Britain and Germany were at war, Germany cultivated Arab support. The leader of Palestine's Arabs, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, worked closely with Germany during the war years. After escaping from Palestine, he spoke to the Arab world over German radio and helped raise Muslim recruits in Bosnia for the Waffen SS.
48. Israel Shahak, "Yitzhak Shamir, Then and Now," *Middle East Policy* (Washington, DC), Vol. 1, No. 1, (Whole No. 39), 1992, pp. 27-38.; Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Israel's Fateful Hour* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 213-214. Quoted in: Andrew J. Hurley, *Israel and the New World Order* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: 1991), pp. 93, 208-209.; Avishai Margalit, "The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir," *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992, pp. 18-24.; Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (1986), pp. 175-177.; L. Brenner, "Yitzhak Shamir: On Hitler's Side," *Arab Perspectives* (League of Arab States), March 1984, pp. 11-13.
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THE BALFOUR DECLARATION
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A Veteran's Plea for Peace

Rudolf Hess' July 1934 Appeal to Fellow Soldiers of the First World War

Even many people who consider themselves well-informed about the history of the Third Reich and the Second World War are ignorant of the numerous offers of peace made by Hitler and his government in the years before the outbreak of war, particularly during the 1934-1937 period.

His first speech on foreign policy after taking office as Chancellor was a plea for peace and mutual understanding among nations delivered to the Reichstag on May 17, 1933. So persuasively argued was his appeal that it was enthusiastically endorsed even by opposition-party representatives, including Social Democratic Party deputies.

Two years later, the German leader again stressed the need for peace on the basis of mutual understanding in his Reichstag speech of May 21, 1935. In the view of the London Times, Hitler's address was "reasonable, straightforward and comprehensive."

Such calls for peace were not mere rhetoric. On March 31, 1936, the German government announced a comprehensive plan for strengthening peace in Europe. The detailed paper included numerous specific proposals, including demilitarization of the entire Rhineland region, a western Europe security agreement, and mutual prohibition of poison gas and incendiary bombs, and heavy tanks and heavy artillery.

Efforts like this were not without some success. For example, in January 1934 Hitler's government concluded a ten-year non-aggression pact with Poland. (Unfortunately, the spirit of this treaty was later broken by the men who took power in Poland after the death of Marshal Pilsudski in 1935.)

One of Hitler's most important foreign policy successes was a comprehensive naval agreement with Britain, signed in June 1935. (This agreement, incidentally, abrogated the Treaty of Versailles, thereby showing that neither London nor Berlin still regarded it as valid.) For the most part, though, Germany's neighbors rejected Hitler's peace proposals.

Most historians have tended to dismiss his proposals as insincere posturing designed to deceive the world about his "true" intentions. Sincere or not, it is significant that Germany's neighbors — above all France and Britain — declined to call Hitler's "bluff" by at least giving serious consideration to his proposals.

A particularly eloquent expression of the Third Reich's "peace offensive" is Rudolf Hess' address of July 8, 1934. This speech — the relevant portion of which is given here — was delivered in Königsberg, capital of the province of East Prussia (now the Russian city of Kaliningrad). Speaking as Hitler's Deputy (or Stellvertreter), Hess' words reflected not only the policy of Hitler and his government, but also the heart-felt desire of the vast majority of Germans for lasting peace in Europe.

The sincerity of this appeal to, especially, former front-line soldiers of the First World War, is confirmed by everything we know about Hess. His personal passion for peace was manifest, above all, in his history-making May 1941 flight to Britain, in which he risked his life in an effort to end fighting between Britain and Germany. (For more about Hess and his legacy, see the January-Feburary 1993 Journal.)

— M. W.

Within a few weeks we shall be celebrating the day [in August 1914] that marked the opening of an epic struggle on the part of Germany's soldiers [during the First World War]. It was here in [the province of] East Prussia that the great soldier, Hindenburg, turned back the invasion and saved the country. East Prussia suffered more in the war than any other part of Germany. East Prussia experienced the war in its most brutal realities. Here the ruined villages remained for a long time as striking witnesses of the Russian invasion. There are many among you here who remember the tragic sight of the refugees, fleeing for safety from the hands of the Cossacks.

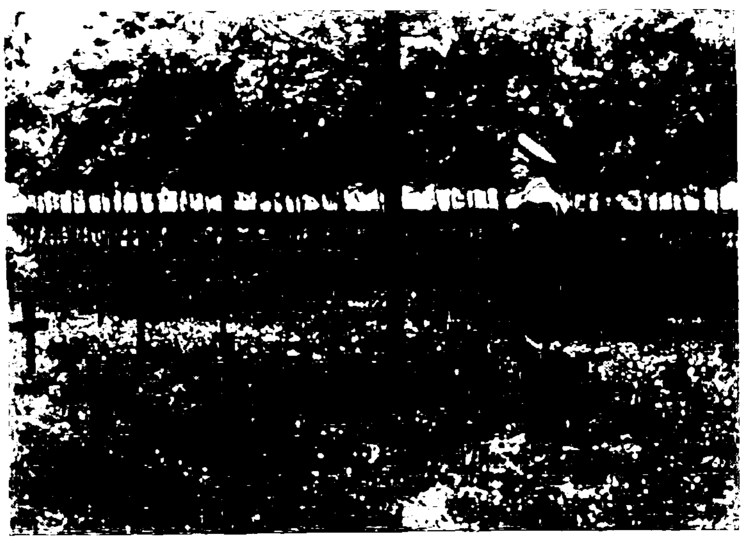
Therefore, because you have been acquainted with war in your own homeland, I wish to say here in East Prussia something which I have long wanted to say to Germany and to the world at large. It is this: Today our people have the good fortune to be led by soldiers who fought in the front line trenches [during the First World War] and who have brought over into the leadership of the state those virtues which they leaned at the front. They are carrying out the rebuilding of the Reich in the spirit of the trenches; because it was the spirit of the trenches which created National Socialism.

While in the trenches they were everywhere confronted with death; and in the face of this terror all feeling of class distinction or differences of calling broke down. In the common sorrows and joys that they shared while in the trenches, there developed a spirit of comradeship between fellow countrymen such as had never been known before. In the trenches the common destiny stood out, before all eyes and in gigantic form, above the destiny of the individual.

And yet another thing arose in those trenches, despite all the bitterness and ruthlessness of the struggle. This was a certain feeling that between the men in the front lines on the opposite side of "no man's land" there was a certain bond of union which arose from the fact that on both sides they had to endure the same suffering, to stand in the same mud and face the same death.

A Common Bond Among Soldiers

And this feeling of a common bond has remained up to the present day. Is it not so? When [former] soldiers of the front-line trenches who fought on the opposite sides now find themselves together they naturally speak of the world war; but the hope that is constantly glittering through their conversation is the hope of peace. And therefore, if the politicians cannot find the means of doing so, it is the men who fought in the front-line trenches who are now called upon to throw a bridge of understanding across the gulf that separates nation from nation.



Rudolf Hess at a soldiers' cemetery in France, 1940.

It is no mere coincidence that the two nations that are [today] led by soldiers [Mussolini and Hitler] who once fought in the trenches — Italy and Germany — are now working hard to establish a world peace. And it was not mere accident that when the two [former] front-line soldiers, Hitler and Mussolini, met one another a cordial personal understanding immediately arose. With our Polish neighbors we have entered into a covenant that serves the cause of peace. And in that country also the political leader is a soldier: Marshal Pilsudski.

Even in France, Hitler's attempt to bring about an understanding with our western neighbor met with the most favorable reception in the ranks of the former front-line soldiers.

Understanding Based on Mutual Respect

We who have fought in the trenches are determined that an incompetent diplomacy shall not be the cause of our stumbling into another catastrophe. Once again, front-line soldiers would have to bear the brunt of the suffering. The soldiers who fought in the trenches, no matter on which side, feel free of all responsibility for the last war. We want to work together to prevent a new catastrophe. We desire in common to build up in peace what in common we destroyed in war.

It is high time that now, at last, a real understanding should be reached among the nations. This must be an understanding based on mutual respect for one another, because only such an understanding can endure. It must be founded on the same kind of mutual respect as those who fought on opposite sides in the front-line trenches have always had for one another.

For there must be no doubt about this: Most of the Great Powers have accumulated more war materiel now than ever before. But war materiel, which is in danger of deteriorating, is perilous stuff in the midst of a world that has had been in a spirit of unrest ever since the war, and among nations that have the highest mistrust of one another today. An insignificant episode, like the unfortunate shot that was fired in Sarajevo in 1914 — perhaps an explosion from the pistol of a fool — might suffice, even against the best will of the nations concerned, to set millions of people against one another in armed conflict. Such an episode might be sufficient to plow up whole sections of countryside through tens of thousands of cannon of all calibers and ranges, to blow towns and villages into the air in a sea of flames, and to smother all life in clouds of poison gas.

Those who took part in the [First] World War have a premonition of what a modern war, with more fully perfected weapons, would mean today.

The Experience of the Front

I appeal to the front-line comrades of the war, on all sides.

Be honest. Of course we once stood out there in the proud feeling that we were stalwart men — soldiers, warriors, liberated from the everyday routine of our former existence. We probably experienced a temporary pleasure in a kind of life that was a crude contrast to the languid existence that modern civilization and hyper-civilization brings with it. We felt ourselves worthier men than those who were far from the front, and had nothing to do with the destiny that was being decided there. We felt that we were defending the life of our nation, and that we were the trustees of our nation, and that we were the trustees of its future.

We enjoyed happy and bright hours. We tried to double every minute of life that was given to us. Not one of us would like to have this time at the front erased from his memory.

Death and Suffering

But let us be honest. The smell of death was always in our nostrils. We have seen death in more fearful and mangled shapes than any men before our time. We squatted and crouched in our dugouts, waiting to be crushed to pieces. We listened with stilled breath as our trained ear heard the hiss of the shell above us, as the mine exploded before our feet. Our heats throbbed as if they would break to pieces when we sought cover in vain against the deadly rattle of the machine gun. With our gas masks on we felt ourselves suffocating to death in the midst of the gas clouds. We stumbled along in the water-logged trenches. We lay out in shell craters through the freezing nights. For days and weeks together, the horror of battle passed over us. We were frozen and hungry and often on the verge of madness. The cries of the heavily wounded men were in our ears. We met blinded men staggering back and we heard the death rattle in the throats of the dying. Among the heaped-up corpses of our dead comrades we lost all hope of life. We saw the misery of the refugees behind the lines. We saw the widow and the orphans, the cripples and the suffering, the sick children and the hungry women at home.

"Must This Be?"

Let us be honest. Did not each one of us then and there often ask: Why all this? Must this be? Can humanity not be spared all this in the future?

But we held out, on all sides, as men of duty and discipline and loyalty, as men who despised cowardice.

Today I take up anew the question we then asked, and I send it out to ring as a summons around the world. As one who fought in the front-line trenches [speaking] to the [former] front-line soldiers throughout the world, as a leader of the German nation to the leaders of other nations, I ask: Must this be? With goodwill and cooperation, cannot we save humanity from this?

Perhaps someone will ask: Why do you raise your voices today for the first time? Why have you remained silent during the past years?

I shall give the answer: Because in the past my voice would have been intermingled with the voices of those who had betrayed their own nation. It would have been associated with those who fell upon our fighting soldiers from the rear. It would have been intermingled with the voices of those Germans who have the Treaty of Versailles on their consciences.

Today I can speak, because a man of my own people has reestablished the honor of that people before the world. Today I can speak because the world now knows that a National Socialist soldier is not a knave. Today I can speak because the leader of my people has himself offered the hand of peace to the world. Today I can speak because the courageous stand of one man, Adolf Hitler, is a guarantee against my being misunderstood or accused of making common cause with the pacifist poltroons.

Today I *must* speak, because I must stand by the man who is seeking in this final moment to save the world from catastrophe. Today I raise my voice, because I wish also to warn the world against mistaking the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, for the Germany of the pacifists.

For this must be proclaimed and made known: although the men of the old front-line have the thousandfold horrors of the war still before their minds, and although the post-war generation wants war as little as the older generation does, yet the road is not open for an "Excursion" into our country.

Just as in the Great War the French people defended every square foot of their soil with all their might, and would defend it again any day against a renewed attack, so would the German people do in like manner today. The French [former] front-line soldier will especially understand us when we tell those who are constantly playing with the idea of another war — which, of course, would have to be waged on the front by other than the professional hate mongers — the French [former] front-line soldier will understand us when we tell these people:

If you dare to attack us, if you dare to march into the new Germany, then the world will learn what the spirit of the new Germany is. It would fight for the inviolability of its freedom as hardly any other people in history ever fought. The French people know how one defends one's native soil. Every scrap of wood, every hill, every farmstead would have to be conquered with the outpouring of blood. Old and young would dig themselves into their native soil. They would defend themselves with a fanaticism unparalleled in world history.

And even if superiority of armament would turn out to be victorious, the way through the Reich would be a road of gruesome sacrifice for the invader as well; because no nation has ever been so filled with a sense of its right as our nation is [today], and with a sense of its duty to defend itself to the last against every attack.

Yearning for Peace

But we do not believe those who are poisoning the springs of international relations when they suggest that there is any nation ready today to wreck the peace of Germany and therewith that of Europe, if not of the whole world.

We believe that this is particularly true of the French people; for we know that these people also yearn for peace. We who fought in the trenches remember that the French population behind the lines in the World War always spoke of it as a misfortune for themselves and the whole world. The demand for an honorable understanding with Germany, expressed officially by the organizations of French [former] front-line soldiers, was received with keen sympathy by us, and especially by [former] German front-line soldiers. The demand undoubtedly sprang from a firsthand knowledge of what the realities of war mean, and also from the esteem which France's [former] front-line soldiers have for the military achievements of the German soldiers in the war.

The soldiers of France recognize how tenaciously German soldiers fought for four-and-a-half years against superior forces. And in the same way the German front-line soldier has never failed to acknowledge the bravery of his French adversary. This bravery found its expression in the fact that the French army paid the highest price in blood of any army in the ranks of the Allies.

Rudolf Hess
Prisoner of Peace
THE FLIGHT TO BRITAIN and ITS AFTERMATH

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The former soldiers of the old front-line want peace.

The people want peace.

The German government wants peace.

And if sometimes the words of authoritative representatives of the French government sound to us in disharmony with the spirit of willingness for an understanding, this does not lead us to abandon hope that, in spite of all, the government of France also wants peace. The French people undoubtedly want peace. In face of that fact we are convinced that the French government does not desire a war with Germany.

If authoritative French representatives do not speak the language of the French people or the French [former] front-line soldiers, they are not to be taken as representative of prevailing views in France. A Frenchman who knows the people and politics of his country very well said to me once: "Have sympathy with us. We still govern through the parliamentary system." He meant to say that statesmen are often forced in their speeches to avoid saying what they think and to say what the parliamentary majority wants to hear. But we know that parliamentary majorities do not represent the opinion of the public. They are rather the representatives of commercial interests and other forces.

Real Peace Benefits All

History will certainly bestow more laurels on the men who, in these difficult times, will have worked to bring about an understanding among the nations, and thus to save civilization, than on those who think that by aggressive political and military measures they can win victories. The people themselves will be grateful to those leaders who will have assured peace to them; because unemployment, with all its social misery, is ultimately attributable to a meager interchange of goods between the various nations. And this interchange is kept at a low level by the absence of mutual trust.

It is an indubitable fact that an understanding between Germany and France would not only help those [two] nations, looked upon as a whole, but also each single individual among the populations of both. To put the matter concretely, every Frenchman and every German would thereby be assured a higher permanent income or a higher permanent wage.

The war, and the continuation of it by other means under the name of peace, brought no good to civilization or the well-being of the nations. As little as the war profited us all, so much more will a real peace benefit us all.

Real peace and honest mutual trust between the nations will make possible the reduction of armaments, which today are a heavy drain on a large section of the income of nations, thereby decreasing the wealth of individual citizens.

Equality of Rights

Again and again Adolf Hitler has asserted that Germany demands equality of rights in all spheres, including that of armament. Once such an understanding as I have been speaking of is arrived at between Germany and her neighbors, Germany can easily be content with the minimum amount of armament necessary for her own internal security and the guaranteeing of peace.

For a practically disarmed country represents a danger to peace. The fact that it lacks the means of military defense offers a temptation to foreign armies to undertake "excursions" that would involve no military risk. Disarmament of a single nation in the midst of heavily armed nations might easily excite ambitious men to an attempt to win easy laurels for themselves. It might also prove a lure for governments to ease tension at home by undertaking foreign adventures.

It is especially the veteran soldiers among you, my party colleagues, who as former soldiers can bear testimony to the fact that the former soldiers of the front-line, to whom I have the honor to belong, desire peace in the profound conviction of their souls.

Peace and Mutual Understanding

The world was surprised at the frank and open way in which that soldier of the old front-line, Adolf Hitler, recently expressed his opinion on this point. The [former] front-line soldiers who are now in the German government honorably demand peace and understanding. I appeal to the veterans of all nations, and even to their governments, to give us their combined support in striving toward this goal.

From the sacred soil of East Prussia I send out this appeal to the soldiers of the world who fought in the war. Here on this German borderland began the great world struggle that brought with it such terrible sacrifices, sacrifices from which the nations that took part in the struggle have not yet recovered. I hope that the spirits that hover over this historic battlefield from which I send out this cry of peace will help to make it effective. We now have pacts of understanding with [Poland,] our great neighbor on this eastern German frontier, thereby guaranteeing peace to the populations dwelling on both sides of this frontier. Would that the nations which stand on Germany's other frontiers might guarantee a greater degree of security for their own people, and ours, through friendly pacts of mutual understanding rather than by the heaping up of war material. That is our hope. In the memory of its dead, many of whom fell here in East Prussia, Germany's will to peace will continue to grow stronger and stronger.

The old soldiers of the war fronts and the young men who are striving to build up a free and proud and peaceful Reich send their greetings form here to the front-line soldiers of the world and to Adolf Hitler in particular. We all look upon him as our protagonist in the cause of peace.

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Who Started the Second World War?

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— Max Lerner, noted Jewish author and nationally syndicated columnist, writing in *The Washington Times*, June 12, 1986.

An Old/New Perspective on the Nuremberg Process

The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials by Telford Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf and Sons, New York, 1992. Hardcover. 703 pages. Photographs. Bibliography. Notes. Index. $35.00. ISBN: 0-394-58355-8.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

"All in all, the members of the war crimes community lived fairly well, and the Americans, who were paid more than the others, very well." The war crimes community! An ear for irony is not among the virtues of this author, whose virtually boundless self-esteem and presumption of moral superiority have survived the intervening half-century undiminished. "Franconian Bavaria is a splendid place for rubbernecking, at which I am very good, and I made the most of my opportunities." Easy to believe, and when these pleasures palled, "Two-day or longer holidays could be spent in the Bavarian and Austrian alps. The Army requisitioned hotels and villages for R and R in such resorts as Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Berchtesgaden and Salzburg, each of which I was able to enjoy during the 1945-46 winter." And villages.

It was such a romp. "Visits to Faber castle were enjoyable. The army commandant, Major Ernest Dean, had formed a small female chorus of German waitresses with lovely voices who sang German folk songs and, as comic relief, heavily accented version of American pop songs; a general favorite was 'Mairzy Doats'." One of the Russian interpreters from the distaff side was called "the passionate haystack."

The gossip in this memoir makes it worth perusing. His comments about the defendants — and their counsel — are neither original nor especially penetrating, but the author is excellent in depicting the vanities and vagaries of his superiors within the American "war crimes community." Ex-Attorney General Francis Biddle and General "Wild Bill" Donovan are both the subjects of relatively subtle send-ups, and the chief prosecutor himself, "Mr. Justice" Jackson, emerges from these pages as remarkably thick-fingered. His drubbing at the hands of Hermann Göring in the first cross-examination is a dramatic high point of the book, and Telford Taylor does not try to minimize it.

At the heart of the book is a drastic dichotomy that will nonetheless be detectable only by those who have given at least some attention to the quality of the evidence brought against the defendants. While the description of the circumstances and judicial mechanics of the trials themselves represent the fruits of decades of reflection on Telford Taylor's part, no such reflection is cast upon the evidence itself. In this respect, the text constitutes a time capsule from the 1940s — as if no accretions of historical knowledge, or no modifications or corrective of the evidence had meanwhile taken place. Thus, the author refers frequently to the "Malmedy massacre" without the slightest hint that the subsequent trial (the second one) resulted in virtual acquittal of the accused; and to Oradour without any reference to the Bordeaux trial of 1950 that brought to light the mitigating circumstance in this disaster. Typically, Taylor quotes at length from the affidavits of Hermann Gräbe concerning murders allegedly committed by SS units (in cooperation with Ukrainian militiamen) in the autumn of 1942, as if this text constituted in itself sufficient proof of every last gruesome detail of the accusations.

Amid this concatenation of coached testimony, suborned witnesses, doctored papers and confessions obtained under duress (to put it mildly), Telford Taylor and fellow Americans in the "war crimes community" proceeded under the pretense that they were upholding the highest standards of the legal profession. The Soviet members were more honest — among themselves at least. No doubt they did not wish to spoil the garden parties in Erlenstegen.

The pretense to moral superiority is equivalent in its way to racism at its most extreme. It is a categorical and pervasive claim — and time and the onset of old age have done little to modify it in the author. Is it a case of arrested devolopment? Or is it the effect of the taboo on serious debate on the quality of this evidence and its reasonable interpretation? Here is the author, quoting himself at length in his arraignment of the entire German General Staff, delivered to the Tribunal on August 30, 1946:

> The truth is spread on the record before us, and all we have to do is state the truth plainly. The German militarists joined forces with Hitler and with him created the Third Reich; with him they deliberately made a world in which war was all that mattered; with him they plunged the world

---

Andrew Gray, a writer and translator, is a former office director in the US Department of Commerce. He lives in Georgetown, Washington, DC.

> him they plunged the world into war, and spread terror and devastation over the continent of Europe. They dealt a blow at all mankind; a blow so savage and foul that the conscience of the world will reel for years to come. This was not war; it was crime. This was not soldiering; it was savagery. We cannot here make history over again, but we can see that it is written true.

The ghost of Goebbels smiles at this — maybe even a bit enviously.

Reference Work on the Third Reich is Riddled with Errors

The Third Reich Almanac, by James Taylor and Warren Shaw. New York: World Almanac, 1988. Hardcover. 395 pages. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. $24.95. ISBN: 0-88687-363-0.

Reviewed by Mark Weber and Greg Raven

In no field of twentieth-century history has there been greater distortion and polemics than with regard to the Third Reich, and especially Germany's wartime treatment of the Jews. While Hollywood and government officials bear much of the blame for this legacy of organized misinformation, equally culpable have been the academic and publishing establishments, which have done little to correct the propagandistic version of history established by the victorious Allied powers during and following the Second World War.

The Third Reich Almanac (originally published in Britain as *Dictionary of the Third Reich*) continues this lamentable tradition of historical distortion. According to the dust jacket, this is "the first of its kind ever published." Not true. Several quite similar works (such as Louis Snyder's *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*) have been published over the years. Is the claim by the *Almanac*'s publisher perhaps meant ironically, knowing that this book's only claim to uniqueness is based not on its format but rather on the slovenliness with which it presents information?

Canards

To their credit, the authors do take aim at a few historical canards. They concede, for example, that the "Lebensborn" maternity homes "were not, as has been suggested, a chain of SS brothels." The Allied claim of sole German guilt for the outbreak of the First World War is a "lie," and the authors note that a notorious phrase often attributed to Hermann Göring, "When I hear anyone talk of culture, I reach for my revolver," is actually an actor's line from a play.

The authors are not as forthcoming about the 1933 burning of the German Reichstag. They assert that "there is strong but inconclusive evidence that an SA detachment was responsible," and that "the debate is still going on" over who set the fire. In fact — and as serious historians of the subject now acknowledge — the Reichstag was single-handedly set ablaze by a young Dutchman, Marinus van der Lubbe. Calling him "a Dutch bricklayer, associated with anarchists," the *Almanac*'s authors fail to mention that the arsonist was a member of a Communist organization.

The *Almanac*'s entry about Leon Degrelle is rather typical. It makes no mention at all of the Belgian leader's wartime service as an SS commander (or his decorations for bravery during combat on the Eastern Front). But it does report: "In 1945, the Belgian government sought to bring Degrelle to trial, but by then he had escaped to Spain and, later, to the Argentine, where he successfully avoided all attempts at extradition." In fact, Degrelle has lived in Spain continuously since 1945, when he arrived after a daring flight across Europe.

The *Almanac* mentions the purported record of private conversations with Hitler by one-time NS party official Hermann Rauschning. (This work, a best-seller in English and French, was submitted as supposedly damning evidence at Nuremberg by the Allies.) Although this often quoted source was thoroughly exposed as a complete fabrication years ago, the *Almanac's* authors concede merely that Rauschning's "book *Conversations with Hitler* must read with reservations since his real contact with Hitler was certainly less than he wished to imply."

Nearly two full pages are devoted to the "Hossbach Memorandum," a supposedly critical document that was cited by the Allies at Nuremberg as proof of Hitler's aggressive war aims. The spurious character of this "document" has long been authoritatively established by historians such as A.J.P. Taylor.

The *Almanac* wrongly asserts that Bulgarian King Boris III died in Germany. (He died in his homeland.)

The entry for Konstantin Hierl completely ignores this man's important role in Germany after Hitler took power in 1933. The reader will not learn that as "Reich Labor Leader," Hierl headed the Reich Labor Service, or that he was named (in 1943) as Minister of Labor.

Oswald Spengler's writings, the *Almanac* claims, were "suppressed" by the Hitler government, and he was "banned from writing." Not true. Collections of the historian's writings were published by major German firms in 1937 and 1941.

Reflecting the *Almanac*'s lack of balance, there is a separate entry for the *Bayerische Kurier*, the relatively unimportant paper of the small Bavarian People's Party, but none for *Das Reich*, Germany's best-written and best-edited wartime weekly paper.

active in the anti-Hitler opposition merits a separate entry, although quite prominent Third Reich personalities — such as film director Veit Harlan or radio commentator (and Nuremberg trial co-defendant) Hans Fritzsche — are simply ignored.

The Third Reich Almanac contains not a word of criticism of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, which the Allies conducted on the basis of a blatantly hypocritical double standard. Nor is there any mention of the outrageous (and illegal) postwar Allied treatment (including torture) of German leaders such as Rudolf Hess.

"Final Solution"

While this work's treatment of Germany's wartime "Final Solution" policy is predictably riddled with errors, it is surprising that what the authors write on this subject is not even consistent with the current "official" version of the extermination story. For example, Theresienstadt — the wartime ghetto-camp in Bohemia — is cited here as an "extermination" center, an assertion that no reputable historian would accept.

The complete text of the entry for "Birkenau" reads as follows:

> Part of the much larger Auschwitz camp, Birkenau had a railway siding disguised as a complete railway station. It began operations in 1941 as a hastily constructed extermination camp for Russian prisoners and continued in use as a subcamp of Auschwitz.

At another place it is asserted that Birkenau was "ordered by Himmler specifically as a killing centre for Russian officers."

While the Nuremberg Tribunal "established" that no less than one and half million people had been killed at the wartime German camp of Lublin (Majdanek), the Almanac's authors maintain (without citing any evidence) that 200,000 people were put to death there.

The now thoroughly discredited "confession" and Nuremberg testimony of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss is cited as proof that he organized the extermination there of up to three million people. Even Höss' citation of "Wolzek" as an extermination camp is uncritically accepted by the authors. (In fact, no camp under this name ever existed.)

The 1943 "Korherr Report" is said to have provided "the first total figures of the extermination of the Jews." It does nothing of the kind, as a reading of the original text readily discloses, and as the report's author, Richard Korherr, later insisted.

Misspellings

Much of the weakness of *The Third Reich Almanac* seems due to the authors' utter lack of familiarity with relevant original sources, or even of appropriate secondary works. However, this cannot excuse the work's numerous misspellings of proper names, such as "Marius" van der Lubbe. Similarly, Rabbi Leo Baeck is wrongly rendered as "Bäck," and Joseph Goebbels is consistently given as "Göbbels."

In spite of its rather attractive appearance, this is a miserable work. (For those who read German, a similar but vastly superior 510-page reference work is recommended: *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by W. Schütz.) Loaded with errors of fact, omission and interpretation, *The Third Reich Almanac* is not worthy of any self-respecting publisher.

"In this country, you can say you don't believe in God, but you can't say you don't believe in the Holocaust."

— Felipe Rivero, Chairman of the Cuban National Alliance (Maimi). Quoted in the *Miami Herald*, Dec. 27, 1991, and Jan. 5, 1992.

Ingrid Weckert's

FLASHPOINT

The Book that Dares to Ask: Who Benefitted from the "Crystal Night"

Kristallnacht — the attacks on Jewish property throughout Germany in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a young Jew in Paris — signalled an ominous turning point in relations between the Third Reich and international Jewry.

But what was the *real* story of the shooting in Paris? Was Herschel Grynszpan a "lone gunman"? Or was he commanded by shadowy backers? And what was the role of Vladimir Jabotinsky, mentor to Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir?

Who bears the responsibility for the riots? Was it Hitler? Goebbels? The German people? Or a shadowy cabal of provocateurs?

Historian Ingrid Weckert asks—and answers—these bold questions in ***Flashpoint***, her gripping investigation of the instigators, victims, and beneficiaries of *Kristallnacht*.

Meticulously researched, ***Flashpoint*** places the momentous events of early November, 1938 firmly within the much-neglected context of German-Jewish relations (above all the surprising collaboration between Hitler's Germany and the Zionists). Yet it reads like an international thriller!

No one with an interest in the Third Reich, Zionism and the Jews can afford to ignore *Flashpoint*.

FLASHPOINT by Ingrid Weckert
Softcover • 179 pp • Notes, Bibl., Index, Glossary
ISBN 0-939484-37-4 • $15.95
Published by INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

Letters

A Bit Worried

The new Holocaust Museum in Washington is scarcely worth a serious protest. It is its own best confutation. People *know* this, but put up with such nonsense in the same way we put up with bad weather.

The real fight is the serious intellectual one. At issue is the integrity of the historical profession itself, our culture's quality of self-criticism, and our society's ability to resist a propagandistic view of itself and its history.

I suppose I am not alone in being a bit worried about the decision to change the format of the *Journal.* It should remain the kind of publication that is implicitly addressed to people yet unborn — like *The Dial* or *The Yellow Book.*

G.P.
Washington, DC

Neither of the Right Nor of the Left

The real, main strength of *The Journal of Historical Review* is precisely that it has no links with politics or religion. If the *Journal* says that something is true, it is not because it is of the right or of the left, but because it is truthful, and because a fact is a fact.

The great strength of revisionism is that it belongs everywhere and nowhere, that it is apolitical. Our adversaries are quite aware of this, and would therefore be very happy if we were to proclaim ideological or political aims, and thus confirm that they have been right all along in charging that we say what we say not because it is the truth, but in order to strengthen a political or ideological agenda.

Our adversaries would very much like to link us with, in particular, the extreme right, because they have created, especially through television, a real terror in people's minds about "extreme" anything, and in particular the extreme right.

Y. F.
Paris, France

"Multiculturalism": A Response to Smith

In his attack [in the Winter 1992-93 issue] on my article, "The Challenge of 'Multiculturalism'," [Summer 1992 issue] Bradley Smith makes two errors. The first is to assume that I am advocating the distortion of history, and the other is to suggest that a "multicultural" approach is a good way to learn "what really happened" in history.

First, I am just as much in favor of finding out "what really happened" as is Mr. Smith. My point, which seems to have escaped him, is that the same event can be felt entirely differently by different groups, even when there is no dispute about what happened. Take, for example, the Harvard-Yale football game. There may be complete agreement in New Haven and in Cambridge as to what happened on the field, yet there may be joy in one city and grief in the other. The "multicultural" interpretation of the game would be one that forbade either emotion, for it would find them both illegitimate. Whether Mr. Smith likes it or not, there will always be emotion in New Haven and in Cambridge whenever Harvard plays Yale. To assume otherwise is to misread human nature, and that is exactly what the "multicultural" approach does.

The historical dilemmas I referred to in my article are therefore not at all "fake" as Mr. Smith claims. Was the settlement of the Americas by Europeans a triumph or a defeat? If this is a "fake" problem, let Mr. Smith solve it for us and put the controversy to rest. If he would prefer to argue that it depends on one's point of view, then he will find that he agrees with me in spite of himself. Different ethnic groups in the United States have different points of view — and probably always will. It is therefore impossible to do what the multiculturalists wish to do and teach history in a way that satisfies all of them.

This leads to Mr. Smith's second error. The true multiculturalists — almost all of whom are white — really do want a history in which there are no winners or losers. This is impossible, but they really do want a world in which Harvard students are just as happy as Yale students when Yale wins the game. The non-whites who claim to be multiculturalists are entirely different. They advocate histories that are not only explicitly pro-ethnic and anti-white but that are demonstrably false. If Mr. Smith is looking for renewed objectivity in the search for "what really happened," the multiculturalists will disappoint him.

The ultimate goal of sincere multiculturalists is to reduce the differences between peoples, races, and nations to the point that history loses all particularist meaning and becomes a sequence of events in which no one takes more than an abstract interest. This day will never come because men are no more likely to look upon the past with dispassion then they are to look upon the future with indifference.

If anything is "fake," it is multicultural history. It could exist only in a world in which men failed to distinguish their own interests from those of others. Any man who did so would be devoured. As Vilfredo Pareto once observed, "Whoever would become a lamb will find a wolf to eat him."

Samuel Jared Taylor
Louisville, Ky.

Danger of Racialist Subjectivism

Over the years, the *Journal* and the Institute for Historical Review have earned respect for publishing only factually grounded material. Whatever the enemies of truth might say about the IHR, they have not been able to accuse you (at least not seriously) of printing lies. Having just read through the first [January-February] issue of the new-format *Journal,* I am concerned that your shift to a more "popular" approach runs the risk of squandering some of that hard-won respect.

In particular, I am dismayed by your treatment of the issue of race, and your apparent defense of racialist views. However much I might agree with you on this issue, a subjective treatment — particularly of race — blurs the line between fact and opinion and makes you much more assailable. Such an approach also suggests

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We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

that everything else appearing in the *Journal* is equally subjective.

The IHR has had a formidable impact because of its factual presentation of historical evidence and its scholarly analysis. Please don't do anything to endanger that.

I. H.
Falls Church, Virginia

Open Mind on Holocaust

It is very encouraging to see that, according to a recent survey (*New York Times*, April 20), 34 percent of adult Americans aren't certain of the orthodox account of the Holocaust. Exterminationists will ascribe this to the failure of American education (that is, "indoctrination"). In spite of the deplorable state of US education, though, this survey seems to indicate that one-third of adults still have an open mind on specifics of the Holocaust story.

C. H.
Troy, Mich.

Takes Pride

I take great pride in playing some small role in forcing the Organization of American Historians to overturn their decision to sell advertising space to your organization. Like many historians, I suggested to the OAH that this was not a free speech issue.

Douglas R. Egerton
Associate Professor of History
Le Moyne College
Syracuse, N.Y.

"Democracy"?

I could hardly believe the comments by Mr. H. P. of Norwalk, California in the Winter 1992-93 *Journal* (pp. 506-507).

Where is the "democracy" he speaks of when, in times like these, David Irving and others like him are punished, university degrees are annulled and withdrawn, a Professor Faurisson can be spat on in Toronto and nearly beaten to death in France, and many other outstanding, righteous persons treated likewise in other countries — all for questioning a sacred doctrine? It isn't Nazis who are responsible for these outrages.

Where is the "democracy" when schools teach distorted, untrue history, anthropology, political science and sociology, and when entire nations are forced to accept the results of historical crimes?

In the aftermath of the First World War, prostrate Germany was not merely treated shabbily, she was politically and economically raped, with the intention of destroying her.

Until the whole truth is said openly in the face of those who oppress it, there can be no breakthrough or liberation from the terroristic rule of the manipulators.

Please do not compromise with the wicked. Our adversaries will not be impressed or soften as a result of your efforts at accommodation, but will only become even bolder.

E. S.
Underwood, Queensland
Australia

Work Appreciated

I can't tell you how much my husband and I appreciate your continuing good work. It has relieved a great burden we have long carried, caused by the disparity between what we know to be true and what everyone else seems to accept as true.

D. G.
Gainesboro, Tenn.

You are doing a great job. There are greater and greater numbers of people who support you.

L. V.
Colchester, Essex, England

I congratulate you on the excellent standard you observe in your *Journal*, while dealing with the most controversial chapters of history.

O. Z.
Karenpark, South Africa

Congratulations on the March-April issue of the *Journal*. The new size and illustrated cover is such an improvement. I'm quite impressed with the gutsy young David Cole.

T. L.
Delray, Fla.

We heartily endorse your *Journal*, and pray that you will continue to enlighten the citizens of our great country.

E. K.
Fredericksburg, Texas

I am a young man in the US Navy. I have a wife and two beautiful children, and I wouldn't trade my life for anything. I just wanted to let you know that what you are doing is greatly appreciated. Thank you all, and keep up the great work. The victory of truth depends on it.

A. F.
Oak Harbor, Virginia

Word for Word

I recently subscribed to your *Journal*, and have read the two 1993 issues word for word (every single word!). This is something I have never done with any other magazine, and only a few books. More important, I feel as though I received a Master's degree in truth — which is what I thought history was about. Now I know that no two histories are created equal. And nothing I have ever known or imagined equals the work and integrity of your truth.

From the height of my intellect to the bottom of my heart: congratulations on a great job in this huge effort to set the record to truth, and vindicate the victims of perjury.

W. T.
Huntley, Ill.

Epic Struggle

The "Holocaust" is a mania, an obsession, a fanatical new religion. Since April 22, we are confronted by still another outrage of this campaign, the most grandiose and insolent so far: the monstrosity in our nation's capital.

The "Holocaust" will not just go away. It has to be driven away. Considering the forces and personalities arrayed on each side, the "Holocaust" war is an epic struggle. The enemy is utterly ruthless, totally without scruples. Weighed by what is riding on the outcome, this struggle is western man's most crucial. Until it is won, other issues must be regarded as secondary.

The "Holocaust" lives by, and will die with, the lie of gas chamber.

C. H.
Beachwood, N.J.

Wartime Internment

I commend you on your efforts to bring historical truth to light, free of "politically correct" rhetoric. Thanks to your efforts, the public has begun to question the Holocaust lobby.

I hope you will consider publishing something about the wartime American internment of German- and Italian-Americans. While many people know that Japanese-Americans were relocated to detention camps, few realize that many European-Americans also suffered.

L. G.
San Diego, Calif.

World War II — The

ONLY THE TRUTH CAN PUT AN END TO WORLD WAR II. . .
NOW, IHR'S CLASSIC
Perpetual WAR For Perpetual PEACE
PUTS THE TRUTH ABOUT WORLD WAR II IN YOUR HANDS!

Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words — and the deeds — of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The Establishment which rules ordinary Americans *needs* to keep World War II alive — in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought the American people ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace***.

More Than Just a History

But ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*** is more than just a history: it's a *case history* of how politicians like FDR use propaganda, outright lies, and suppression of the truth to scapegoat patriotic opposition to war, to incite hatred of the enemy (*before* they're the enemy!), and to lure foreign nations into diplomatic traps — all to serve, not America's national interest, but *international* interests.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace gives you:

- Matchless, careful debunking of all the arguments that led us into World War II

- Detailed, definitive historical sleuthwork exposing FDR's hidden treachery in preparing for war on behalf of Stalin's USSR and the British Empire — while falsely representing Germany and Japan as "aggressors" against America

- Incisive, unmistakably American perspectives on how the U.S. made a mockery of its own professed ideals during the misnamed "Good War," by allying with imperialists and despots to wage a brutal, pointless war culminating in the massacres of Dresden and Hiroshima and the betrayals at Yalta and Potsdam

- Inspired insight into how future wars have sprung and will continue to spring from the internationalist impetus that led us from World War II, through the "Cold War" (and the hot wars we fought in Korea and Vietnam with our WWII Communist "allies") to the "New World Order" — until Americans, armed with the truth, force their leaders to return to our traditional non-interventionist foreign policy

Eleven Books In One!

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is much, much more than a standard history book. Its *eleven* separate essays by *eight* different authors (average length 65 pages) make it a virtual encyclopedia on the real causes and the actual results of American participation in the Second World War. You'll find yourself reading, and rereading, the following concise, judicious and thorough studies by the leading names in American Revisionist scholarship:

Revisionism and the Historical Blackout by Harry Elmer Barnes • *The United States and the Road to War in Europe* by Charles Callan Tansill • *Roosevelt Is Frustrated in Europe* by Frederic R. Sanborn • *How American Policy toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific* by William L. Neumann • *Japanese-America Relations: 1921-1941: The Pacific Back Door to War* by Charles Callan Tansill • *The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor* by George Morgenstern • *The Pearl Harbor Investigations* by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. • *The Bankruptcy of a Policy* by William Henry Chamberlin • *American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at the Mid-Century* by George A. Lundberg • *How "1984" Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom and Prosperity* and *Summary and Conclusions* by Harry Elmer Barnes

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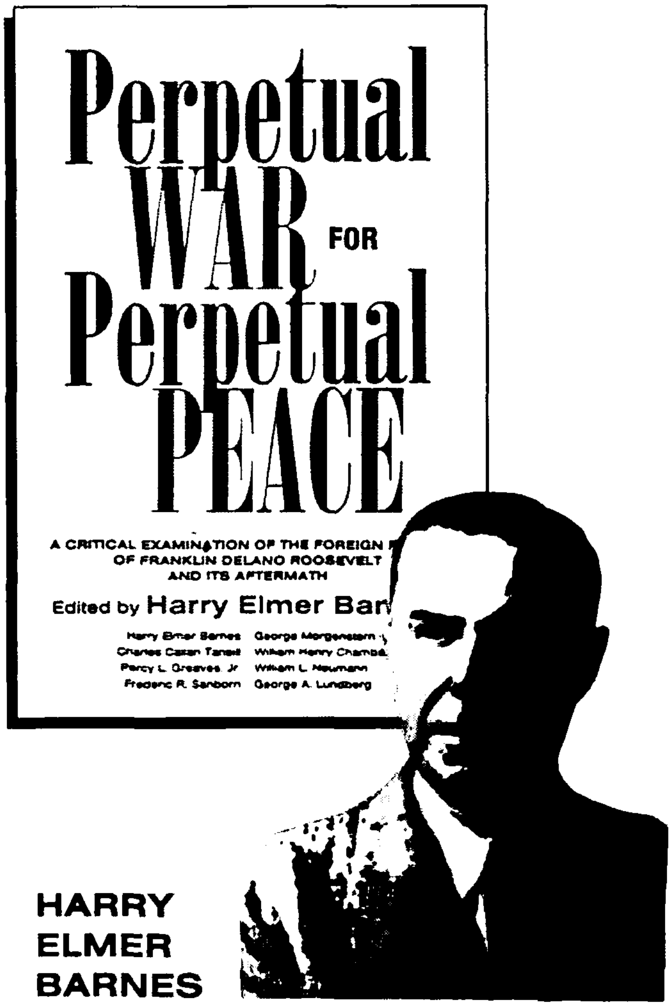

Perpetual WAR FOR Perpetual PEACE

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FOREIGN
OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
AND ITS AFTERMATH

Edited by Harry Elmer Bar

Harry Elmer Barnes George Morgenstern
Charles Callan Tansill William Henry Chamb
Percy L. Greaves, Jr. William L. Neumann
Frederic R. Sanborn George A. Lundberg

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published in 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at its full and (to date) tragically final flowering in America's greatest universities — just before America's internationalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly effective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> **It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.**

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did — virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able once more to make this enduring, phoenix-like classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans. It can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for our own American troops no less than the enemy — in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

PERPETUAL WAR FOR
PERPETUAL PEACE
A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
and its Aftermath
Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes
Quality Softcover
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ISBN 0-939484-01-3
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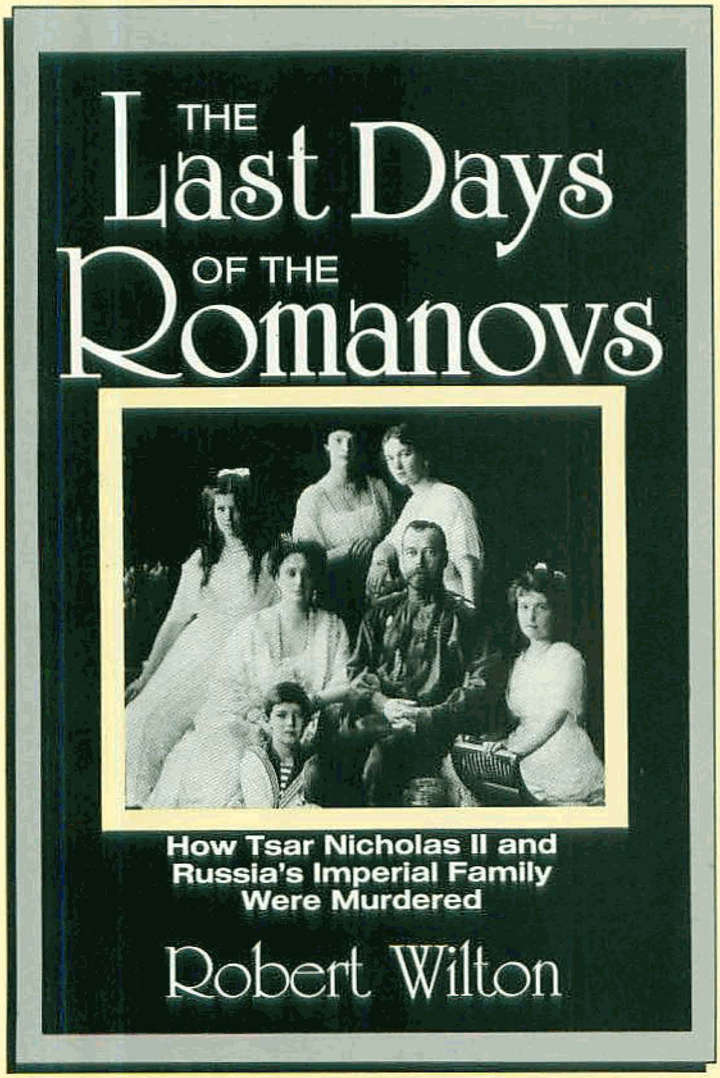
WHO REALLY KILLED THE ROMANOVS. . . AND WHY?

Today, 75 Years After the Brutal Murders, A Long-Suppressed Classic Gives the Shocking Answers

WHEN THE NEWS OF THE COLD-BLOODED MASSACRE of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children reached the outside world, decent people were horrified. But the true, complete story of the murders was suppressed from the outset—not only by the Red regime, but by *powerful forces operating at the nerve centers of the Western nations*. Nevertheless, one intrepid journalist, Robert Wilton, longtime Russia correspondent of the London *Times*, dared to brave the blackout. An on-the-scene participant in the White Russian investigation of the crime, Wilton brought the first documentary evidence of the *real killers, and their actual motives*, to the West.



THE Last Days OF THE Romanovs

How Tsar Nicholas II and Russia's Imperial Family Were Murdered

Robert Wilton

A SKELETON KEY TO THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET SLAUGHTERHOUSE

Wilton's book, ***The Last Days of the Romanovs***, based on the evidence gathered by Russian investigative magistrate Nikolai Sokolov, was published in France, England, and America at the beginning of the 1920's—but it soon vanished from the bookstores and almost all library shelves, and was ignored in later "approved" histories. The most explosive secret of Wilton's book—*the role that racial revenge played in the slaughter of the Romanovs*—had to be concealed. And it continued to be concealed for decades—as the same motive claimed the lives of millions of Christian Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, and other helpless victims of the Red cabal.

AVAILABLE AT LAST FROM IHR!

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